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THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY

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WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS,
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Church Service Society

THE WESTMINSTER DIRECTORY

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

THOMAS LEISHMAN, D.D.

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INTRODUCTION.

AFTER the rejection by the Scottish Church of the Service-book sent down from England in 1637, it was felt that the time had come for a revision of the forms of worship transmitted from the days of the Reformation. Hitherto the text of the Book of Common Order had been jealously guarded from alteration. On the other hand, the discretion allowed to those who used it was being strained to the utmost by a new party more in sympathy with Irish or English nonconformity than with the traditions of their own Church. Some of the best men in the ministry conceived the idea of remodelling the old ritual—purging it of what was antiquated, adapting it to present needs, and so removing pretexts for

those unauthorised changes, as they had just been repelling other alien usages coming from a different quarter. Accordingly, in 1641, the preparation of a Directory was entrusted to Alexander Henderson, along with other things, "wherein possibly England and we might agree" (Baillie's Letters, i. 365). But in the following year he wrote to Baillie that he had given it up partly from unwillingness to anticipate the action of England, adding, "nor could I take upon me . . . to set down other forms of prayer than we have in our Psalm-book, penned by our great and divine Reformers" (Ibid., ii. 2). Baillie, too, had his misgivings. At a later date he confided to Henderson his opinion that "the Directory might serve many good ends, but no ways for suppressing, but much increasing the ill of novations" (Ibid., ii. 95). By this time, however, the Church was committed to the enterprise of bringing the three nations to a uniformity in worship, government, and creed, to further which the English Parliament had summoned an Assembly of Divines to meet at Westminster. Eight commissioners were chosen by the General Assembly to attend

this convocation—Douglas, Henderson, Baillie, with the Earl of Cassilis and Lord Maitland from one side of the Church, George Gillespie, Rutherford, and Johnstone of Warriston from the other, which was, on the whole, in fuller sympathy with the movement party in the south. It needed all the authority of the General Assembly to make Henderson and Baillie undertake the mission (Ibid., ii. 56-61). Douglas and Cassilis never entered on it. At one time the general desire was that the deputies should "go as redders and friends of both, without siding altogether with the Parliament," and but for Johnstone this would have been the tenor of their commission (Ibid., ii. 90). Even when they did appear at Westminster, they took their places rather as assessors than as members of the Assembly. Before the day came for which this convocation had been summoned, a royal ordinance had forbidden them to meet, with the result that most of the Anglicans whose names had been put on the roll never took their seats. It is at least possible that the king's veto may have been one cause of the otherwise unexplained absence of Douglas and Lord

Cassilis, both strong royalists. From the first the Scots commissioners must have felt that though the title was the same, the Westminster Assembly was a body very different from the free Assemblies of Scotland. In the language of our time it was rather a Parliamentary Commission. Its members had been nominated by the English Parliament, with many of their own number included.[1] Its work was prescribed and limited, its president and rules of procedure appointed by the same authority. Parliament did not hesitate to dictate the order in which they should carry on their business, to hurry them when they seemed dilatory, to review and alter their decisions at pleasure. Our knowledge of the transactions of the Assembly is mainly derived from three sources. The extended minutes of their debates have disappeared, but the notes of Adoniram Byfield, one of the scribes, are preserved in London at the library founded by Dr Williams. They are necessarily fragmentary, frequently little more than catchwords to aid the clerk's memory, at times written in a cipher for which we have no key.

[1] See Appendix A.

More than thirty years ago they were copied for the use of the Church of Scotland by one of the first experts in England. In 1874 the latter part of them was published by the late Professor Mitchell and Dr Struthers, but almost all that refers to the Directory remains unprinted. A more distinct record is the Journal of Dr John Lightfoot, the Orientalist, who was a member of the Assembly. It fills 344 pages of the thirteenth volume of his works (London, 1824). It ends very soon after the date from which Dr Mitchell's reprint begins, but it covers nearly the whole period during which the Directory was under discussion. More lively than either, though less regular and minute, are Baillie's letters to his friends at home. George Gillespie's notes, preserved among the Wodrow MSS., were printed in 1846. They end nearly at the same point as Dr Lightfoot's Journal, but are almost entirely confined to the discussions on Church Government.

The Assembly opened in the beginning of July 1643. When the first of the Scottish commissioners reported themselves six weeks afterwards, it was employed on a work which

it never completed—the revision of the Thirty-nine Articles. On the 12th of October they were interrupted in the discussion of the sixteenth article by an order from Parliament, requiring them to take up the subjects of Church Government and "the Directory of worship or liturgy to be hereafter in the Church" (Lightfoot, p. 17). The first was entered on by the Assembly at once, and occupied them almost exclusively during the winter. The subject of the Directory was remitted to one of the three Grand Committees into which the Assembly was divided. Little seems to have been done till the 2nd of December, when, after negotiations between leading divines and parliamentarians, the business was entrusted to a small sub-committee (Baillie, ii. 117). Except in a few paragraphs at the end of Gillespie's notes, no records of either committee are known to exist. The report reached the Grand Committee in March (Ibid., ii. 148). Its reception there foreshadowed the keen discussions on the *table-gesture* at Communion which afterwards occupied so much of the Assembly's time. Notwithstanding many messages from Parlia-

ment, it was not till the 24th of May that the draft of the Directory was taken up by the Assembly itself. At first their progress was rapid (Baillie, ii. 187), but presently the vexed question of the Communion service delayed them for weeks. From August to October they were employed in other work. At length the Directory was ready to receive its Parliamentary sanction on the 3rd of January 1645. This was afterwards confirmed by the Acts of the Scottish Assembly and Parliament.[1]

The Directory was discussed at more than seventy sessions of the Assembly, besides an unknown number spent on it by the committees. Notwithstanding, or perhaps in consequence of, this careful scrutiny in every detail, it abounds in ambiguities, which are not noticed by the reader till he studies it in the light of contemporary records and practice. At one critical moment Baillie wrote: "After we were overtoiled with debate we were forced to leave all these things and take us to general expressions, which by a benign exposition would infer our church practices" (ii. 204). And Dr Hammond says,

[1] See Appendix B and C.

"I find in many places of the Directory certain footsteps of this kind of composition, and compliance, and mixture of those so distant sorts of Reformers" (View of the New Directory, p. 2). Various illustrations of this will be pointed out in the notes.

When completed, the book as a whole bore more traces of Scottish influence than might have been expected. At first, all that seems to have been contemplated in England was such a modification of the Anglican Liturgy as Knox would have accepted at Frankfort, or the Southern Presbyterians would have been content with at the time of the Savoy Conference. And after this purpose had been departed from, the more moderate of the English members were still anxious to retain many details of the worship with which they had been familiar from childhood. The Scots, of course, did not share their associations. They were embittered against the inflexible ritual which English authority had sought to force upon them in place of the more elastic forms common to themselves and to the Reformed over great part of the Continent. Deference had to be paid to their

opinions, because for the moment the Scottish alliance was of more importance to the Parliament than it was afterwards. The composition of the sub-committee chosen to draft the Directory showed how desirous all were to conciliate the representatives of Scotland. It consisted of Palmer, Goodwin, Young, Herle, and the four Scottish divines, with Marshall as chairman. As Young was a Scotsman, a son of the manse, and Goodwin the only Independent of the number, the general cast of the Directory was likely to be as much Scottish as English. Moreover, the most important sections of it were ultimately left in great measure to Henderson and his friends. The press, too, was doing something to familiarise the people with Scottish ways of worship. At the very time when the Assembly was employed on the Directory, a modification of the Common Order was published in London under the following title, 'The settled order of Church Government, Liturgy, and Discipline for the rooting out of all Popery, Heresy, and Schism, according to the form published by the Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, and

parallelled to the best Reformed Protestant Churches in Christendom, and most humbly presented to the learned Assembly of Divines, &c.' (Hall's Reliquiæ Liturgicæ, i. 111). It omitted the sections having to do with discipline, which were distasteful to the Parliamentarians, and some services which had probably come to be considered superfluous or anachronisms. It restored some portions of the original Book of Geneva. Otherwise it was a reproduction of the forms and simple ceremonial of the Scottish book. It closely resembled the Middleburg Prayer-book, another variant from the same original, which had long been in favour with the more temperate Puritans. Hill Burton (History, vi. 396) refers to another publication of the same date, entitled, 'The New Book of Common Prayer, according to the form of the Kirk of Scotland, our brethren in faith and covenant.' He describes it as containing the greater part of the ordinary daily service of the Book of Common Order. Under this combination of influences within and without, the Sunday service of the Directory became in its general structure almost identical with that of the Common

Order. This is manifest when they are set side by side.

Common Order.		Directory.
Prayer	Reader's Service.	Prayer.
Lessons from both Testaments		Lessons from both Testaments.
Psalm		Psalm.
Prayer	Minister's Service.	Prayer.
Psalm and Prayer in morning [1]		
Sermon		Sermon.
Prayer		Prayer.
Lord's Prayer		Lord's Prayer.
Creed		
Psalm		Psalm.
Benediction		Benediction.

This parallelism was overlooked by Scottish readers in later days, so long as their own service had only a single psalm and a prayer before preaching began. After Westminster, our clergy laid aside the Common Prayers and Scripture of the reader's service, which they had learned to regard as a subordinate section of public worship, one indeed at which

[1] Henderson's Government and Order.

they were seldom present. Now they began their pulpit duty by giving out the psalm which in earlier days had marked the close of the reader's service, and this new custom they transmitted to their successors. Since the revivals of old ways which the last generation has seen, the identity of the two arrangements is more obvious. Other distinctive usages, on which the older Scottish churchmen set much value, had to be sacrificed to the prejudices of the extremer Puritans and their sympathizers in Scotland. Some of these were omitted by tacit concurrence, as the saying of the Apostles' Creed by sponsors, and the singing of the ascription of glory to the Holy Trinity at the end of psalms. The Scottish Assembly openly required that the minister's private devotions in the pulpit, before beginning service, should be discontinued, as a concession to the English. And though the Lord's Prayer and lessons of Scripture were enjoined in the Directory, they soon followed the other "nocent ceremonies," and were hardly ever heard in our churches for two hundred years.

In England, nothing that authority could

do to ensure the acceptance of the Directory was wanting. The Act of Parliament establishing it ordered that it should be used "in all exercises of the public worship of God in every congregation, church, chapel, and place of public worship within this kingdom of England and dominion of Wales." Still more stringent were the provisions of another Act which followed in the same year. It forbade the use of the Common Prayer-book "in any church, chapel, or place of public worship, or in any private place or family, under penalty of £5 for the first offence, £10 for the second, and for the third a year's imprisonment. Such ministers as do not observe the Directory in all exercises of public worship shall forfeit forty shillings, and they who, with a design to bring the Directory into contempt or to raise opposition to it, shall preach, write, or print, anything in derogation of it shall forfeit a sum of money not under five pounds nor more than fifty." Parliament ordered the Assembly to have it translated into Welsh. Within two months of the printing of it, there was published "by authority," as the title-page bears, "a Supply of prayer for the ships of

this kingdom that want ministers to pray with them: agreeable to the Directory established by Act of Parliament." Hitherto it has been known chiefly from a bantering reference to it in Hammond's 'View of the New Directory,' p. 79. It is printed in Appendix D of this volume, from a single copy still preserved in the British Museum. The first and greater part is simply the Lord's Day service of the Directory in liturgical form, followed so far as it could be where there was no preacher nor organised congregation. It is of interest as showing the belief of those who prepared it that the liturgical use of the Directory was permissible. It casts light from the English, as the Supplementary Act of the General Assembly does from the Scottish point of view, on some of the ambiguities by which conflicting opinions had been reconciled. The reading of the Psalter before the Lessons proves how the vague language of that section was understood in the South. The distinct separation of the prayers, going so far as to divide one of them where it is continuous in the Directory, indicates that as yet general opinion was against the one long prayer of the

Independents. The use of the Lord's Prayer so early in the service shows that the Directory did not require this to be the closing act of worship, as some have supposed. The Directory prayers are followed by two others "particularly fitted for those that travel upon the seas." Simpler and less doctrinal than the others, their devout expression of the mariner's wants and dangers, and their copious use of Scripture, were well fitted to awaken the spirit of prayer. While the Directory was in the printer's hands, the Lord High Admiral had asked the Assembly for a supply of ministers for the fleet. Only two were named by them, and further supply was left to private beneficence (Printed Minutes, 68). It may be that this book was drawn up to remedy the deficiency. The prayers for use at sea, in the Anglican Liturgy, sanctioned by the Convocation of 1661, may have been suggested by it. There is also in the Museum a French version of the Directory, printed at Charenton, the great centre of the French Reformed, possibly for the use of the Channel Islands, where hitherto the service had been largely that of the Huguenots, and as such identical with that of Scotland.

Notwithstanding all attempts to commend the book to the English people, it was coldly received. As a directory, it was unwelcome to the Independents. As a supplanter of their own liturgy, it was odious to the Anglicans. Gillespie, speaking in the Scottish Assembly in 1647, said, "I confess it is not yet observed there by all as it ought, yet it is observed there by many to the good of the land." After the army became masters, there was no authority possessed of the power and will to enforce it. At the Savoy Conference, the Presbyterians gave no indications of a preference for it. There is evidence of its partial acceptance among them in after years so long as they retained their orthodoxy. But it took no permanent hold of the nation. Perhaps the Scottish impress which it bore tended to make it less popular as soon as a good understanding with their northern allies ceased to be of importance. So early as December 1644, Baillie wrote home that Lord Manchester, in his place in Parliament, had attacked Cromwell "as one who has spoken contumeliously of the Scots intention in coming to England to establish their church government, in which

Cromwell said he would draw his sword against them, also against the Assembly of Divines" (Letters, ii. 245). After his successful irruption into Scotland, the popular estimate of us was accurately enough expressed in the adulatory words addressed to him by Milton, "In about the space of one year, you entirely subdued and added to the English dominion that kingdom, which all our monarchs during a period of eight hundred years had in vain struggled to subject" (Works, i. 287).

Nor was the reception of the book in Scotland without something of jealous caution. At the last moment, when it was about to be sent to the press, certain alterations in the baptismal and marriage services were pressed on the Parliament and Assembly by the Church of Scotland, and were conceded (Mitchell's Westminster Assembly, p. 219). And the Act of the General Assembly which accepted it in its completed form and ordered its observance, contained a distinct caveat against anything in it that might seem inconsistent with their own earlier statutes and practice, particularly as to the celebration of

the Communion. And in another Act, issued four days later, they formulated further provisos, longer and more minute.[1] An edition of the book, as thus safeguarded, was printed for immediate use in Scotland. But it was never heartily adopted. By some it was accepted so far as it followed the ways of their fathers. Others welcomed such provisions as directly or by implication sanctioned the abrogation of old usages which they had come to dislike. By all of them the verbal material provided for exhortation and prayer seems to have been disregarded.

As we trace the work of the Westminster Assembly, it is interesting to notice how soon the Scottish influence, so strong at first, grew weak, and the English influence over Scotland grew. At the opening of its sittings England was content to learn from Scotland. In its later years, Scotland sat willingly at the feet of England. At the first appearance of the Scots commissioners, their Solemn League and Covenant was taken with little demur by their new allies. Eighteen months afterwards, in 1645, the Directory, cast in a Scottish

[1] See Appendix B.

mould indeed, but the result of much controversy and compromise, was accepted by both nations, though in a half-hearted spirit. At the same time the form of church government, with the same stamp upon it but with the same traces of acrid dispute, passed the English Assembly, and was accepted in Scotland on condition that it should receive the confirmation of the English Parliament. But in 1647 the Confession of Faith, in 1648 the two Catechisms, in 1650 Rous's paraphrase of the Psalter—all of them English in origin and with little affinity to the Confession, Catechisms, and Psalms which they displaced—were placidly received by Scotland, have been steadfastly retained, and are to this day popularly identified with her Church constitution. During the sittings of the Assembly the Scottish commissioners, even those who had been most ready to defend their national customs, had many of their opinions assimilated to those of their new associates. At home, the ranks of the older clergy were being thinned by death and deprivation. Many who were left, and still more the younger generation, yielded to the current of

English opinion which was flowing into Scotland.

During the ascendancy of the Commonwealth the historical inquirer is seldom reminded of the Directory. There was a reference to it in an Interim Act passed by the Assembly of 1652 in the following terms: "That every minister do so dispose of the time appointed for the reading of Scripture, as both the order of the Directory and Act of Uniformity in the point of lecture may be observed; that two chapters being read, one of the old Testament, and the other of the New, after reading of the first, some few observations of the chief doctrines being held forth and propounded briefly and plainly to the people, time may be left to read the second chapter, and to give some brief observations on it also, as the time allowed will suffer."

This Assembly met after the Secession of the Protester body, and it may be assumed that such an Act would not have passed with their concurrence. It was intended to prevent the submerging of the two Scripture lessons which the Directory enjoined by the

new system of lecturing which it barely permitted. It is, indeed, difficult to see how the Act of Uniformity (Feb. 7, 1645) could make lecturing imperative by authority of the Directory, as it practically did. After the suppression of the Assembly by the Cromwellians, efforts were made both by Presbyteries and people, in districts which chafed under the foreign yoke, to restore the earlier national usages.[1]

At the Restoration the Parliamentary recognition of the Directory was annulled by the Rescissory Act. There was, however, no attempt to reintroduce the Laudian book, which had led to such disastrous results, and there was little conformity even to the Articles of Perth. The national worship became almost identical with that which had been disturbed by the novations of 1640. The Creed and Lord's Prayer, Scripture lessons and the Doxology, were heard again. The lecture was discontinued. An English nonconformist student at Glasgow in 1672 wrote as follows: "The public worship in the churches, though

[1] See Proceedings, Society of Antiq. Scot., iv. 474. Sprott's Lee Lecture.

the Archbishop himself preach, is in all respects after the same manner managed as in the Presbyterian congregations in England, so that I much wondered why there should be any dissenters there, till I came to be informed of the renunciation of the Covenant enjoined, and the imposition of the hierarchy," &c. (Munim. Univ. Glasg., IV. xxv.) So late as in 1680 it was thought necessary to have an Act of Privy Council passed to allow the English Liturgy to be read even in private families. Morer was an English chaplain serving in Scotland at the time of the Revolution, who at a later date published his recollections of his residence in the north. His description of the Episcopal services as practically the same as the Presbyterian is well known. One passage of it has been misunderstood. He speaks of their having an eye to a Directory, but evidently he means the Common Order, for he alludes to the Calendar in it. Under the second Episcopacy the only fragment of Anglican usage likely to be authorised was the English Ordinal, and that probably in the Edwardian form. Sharp and his brethren were consecrated on the 15th of September 1661.

The present Anglican form did not pass Convocation till the 20th, nor receive Parliamentary confirmation till the following March. They must therefore have been consecrated according to the rite of 1552. Thereby they were supposed to receive for their church a new and independent existence. They were more likely to retain for their future use the service by which it had been conferred than exchange it for another imposed on their English brethren at a later date. For what were the English Parliament and Convocation to them as Scotsmen? And this seems to receive remarkable confirmation by the Gordon Papers, published along with the late bull *Apostolicæ Curæ*. Gordon, Bishop of Galloway, was deprived at the Revolution, and in 1704 presented a memorial to the Pope, asking that he might receive Roman orders. The statement is that he was consecrated in Glasgow Cathedral on the 19th of September 1688, where, after prayers and sermon, "all the said pseudo-bishops laid their hands on the head and shoulders of the said John, who was kneeling, with the words, "Take (*accipe*) the Holy Ghost, and remember that thou stir up the grace of

God which is in thee, by the imposition of hands, for God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power, and love, and soberness." Gordon himself must have been the informant as to the words used, which do not contain that conveyance in set terms of the Episcopal office which the English authorities thought it necessary to add subsequent to Sharp's consecration. On the contrary, they are the formula in use in England from 1552 to 1662, and, as we may assume on Gordon's own authority, in Scotland from 1661 to 1688.

At the Revolution the Parliamentary recognition of the Directory was not revived, and since then ecclesiastical authority, though never disowning, has seldom acknowledged it. On only four occasions has it been referred to in Acts of Assembly. These are here given :—

"1694. Sess. 9. Act anent Lecturing.—The General Assembly of this National Church, considering how necessary and edifying it is that the people be well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures, doth therefore commend to the several Presbyteries that they endeavour that the ministers within their respective bounds shall, in their exercise of lectur-

ing, read and open up to their people some large and considerable portion of the word of God: and this to the effect the old custom introduced and established by the Directory may by degrees be recovered."

"1705. Sess. 12. Recommendation concerning the observation of the Directory for Worship.—The General Assembly hereby seriously recommends to all ministers and others within this National Church the due observance of the Directory for the Public Worship of God, approven by the General Assembly held in the year 1645, Sess. 10."

"1736. Sess. 8. Act concerning Preaching.—The General Assembly . . . do hereby recommend to all ministers and preachers seriously to consider and observe the Directory of this Church concerning the preaching of the Word, which is approven by the General Assembly 1645, and in particular," &c.

"1856. Sess. ult. Recommendation and Declaratory Act on Public Worship.—The General Assembly had laid before them an Overture on Public Worship. . . . The General Assembly approve of the Overture and enjoin all the ministers of this Church to observe the recommendations contained in it respecting the reading of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament at each diet of public worship: and further, on the subject of the overture, the Assembly earnestly call the

attention of all the Presbyteries and ministers of this Church to the regulations on this and other particulars connected with public worship and spiritual instruction contained in the Directory for the Public Worship of God trusting that the principles maintained in that Directory will be duly observed."

It will be observed that not till 1705 did the Assembly after the Revolution acknowledge any authority in the Directory as a whole, for the Act of 1694 does no more than assign to it a historical connection with a practice which had come to be a party badge, and which was rather read into the Directory than read in it. As to the Act of 1705, we gather from Carstairs and Wodrow that it was meant to pacify Sir Hugh Campbell, who was heading an agitation for the restoration of the Lord's Prayer to its place in the worship of the Church.

To understand the cold and incidental acknowledgment given to the Directory in the Revolution age, we must remember of what elements the Assembly was then composed. The representatives of the Protester body had been readmitted to the Church without

conditions, and being younger, and therefore more numerous, than the surviving Resolutioners, were able to dominate the whole body, so that its action was influenced by their distinctive traditions of worship dating from the Commonwealth times. The old usages which had been suppressed at, and after, the Westminster Assembly, remained under a ban, especially as they had been revived and retained by the Episcopalians. The Directory, sanctioning as it did some of these—as the Lord's Prayer and Scripture lessons—was not likely to be treated as authoritative. Plainly it was not the model set before them in that meagre system of worship which they established and to which its admirers were long accustomed to assign a more remote origin than it could produce titles for. As we follow the course of events from the Revolution downwards, we shall find them or their heirs in successive generations establishing their line of descent by giving up other Reformation principles which the English sectaries at Westminster assailed, but for which the Scotsmen secured a place in the Directory. Of these innovations

private baptism followed immediately on the Revolution. In Scotland, under Superintendency, Presbytery, and Episcopacy alike, public baptism had been the rule. One of the Perth articles required ministers to "warn their people that *without great cause* they procure not their children to be baptized at home in their houses," and even the limitation was resisted by their opponents. At Westminster private baptism had been forbidden after some debate. The practice was so general in England, that Baillie was surprised at their easy success. "We have carried with much greater ease than we expected the publicness of baptism. The abuse was great over all this land. In the greatest parish in London, scarce one child in a year was brought to the Church for baptism." In the first Assembly after the Revolution an Act was passed forbidding the private administration of either sacrament. But as to baptism, there was some questioning of the prohibition by Kennedy the Moderator, a keen old Protester, Kirkton the historian, and others (Hist. of Assembly, 1690, p. 51). The Act, when passed, was so worded as to admit

of a congregation assembling to witness a baptism elsewhere than in the house of God —a not unreasonable provision in itself, but largely used afterwards for purposes of evasion, and admitting of illimitable expansion. Subsequent events showed that the tendency of the party had been rightly interpreted. In 1703, we find Ramsay, who was twice Moderator of Assembly, writing, "I very well remember the practice of prelatical ministers in this matter, and I as well know that of Presbyterians now. And I do assert that where there was one child baptized out of the Church, there are six baptized now" (Toleration's Fence Removed, p. 19). And Warden, who was credited with sympathy for the Marrow men, says on this subject in 1724, "We cannot but justly blush and condemn ourselves when we consider how those who occupied our places before the year 1690 were more strict and exact" (Treatise on Baptism, p. 228). It is not uncommon to hear the change attributed to the Moderate party. Such unchallengeable evidence as the above proves that it originated with the men of the Revolution in the days of their ascend-

ancy. Moderate and Evangelical alike have followed their example, and now there are hundreds of parishes in Scotland where public baptism has been for many years a thing unknown.

Baillie had written from Westminster: "After two days' tough debate, and great appearance of irreconcileable difference, thanks to God we have gotten the Independents satisfied, and a unanimous consent of all the Assembly that marriage shall be celebrate only by the minister, and that in the church, after our fashion" (ii. 243). It was not till the eighteenth century had far advanced that the principle of the Independents bore down the old fashion of the Church. Other causes may have concurred with the laxity of the clergy in carrying forward the change. People in better position began to insist on the private ceremony as a class distinction. In due time the poor followed their example. First they went to the Manse instead of the Church to have their union celebrated. At last all classes asked the minister to come to their own homes. It must be remembered, too, that till the Act 4 and 5 William IV. cap.

28 was passed, all marriages by nonconformist ministers were held to be irregular except those celebrated by Episcopal clergy who had qualified to government. It would be sufficiently vexatious for dissenters to be married by the parish minister without the additional trial of having to enter a building whose threshold they would not cross on the Lord's Day. Concessions to them may have accelerated the change, but it had begun before the dissenters had become an appreciable element in the population. The effect of the innovation has been that, as in the case of baptism, the solemnity of the rite has been lessened, and much of its import obscured by its secular accompaniments. Before the recent revival of public marriage, we had certainly travelled far from the day when John Knox was married to Margaret Stewart in St Giles' on Palm Sunday.

Of modern departures from the Directory, and from the older Scottish usage, that which would probably have appeared to savour most of apostacy in the eyes of Baillie and his friends would be our receiving the Sacrament elsewhere than at the very Communion table.

No subject led to such bitter and lengthened controversy in the Assembly. More than once it seemed as if a final breach was inevitable. "The unhappy Independents would mangle that Sacrament. . . . No coming up to any table, but a carrying of the elements to all in their seats athort the church" (Baillie, ii. 195). At length the vague words, *about the table or at it*, were accepted on both sides. The Scottish Assembly, however, would have no such ambiguous language, and made it clear in their act that communicants must receive *at* the table. Churches continued to be so arranged as that there should be open spaces of the greatest length of which the buildings admitted, in which the long tables were set on Communion days, receiving it might be fifty or more communicants at a time. The person who took the lead in breaking in upon this time-honoured custom seems to have been Dr Chalmers. When he took possession of his new church of St John's in Glasgow, his people were allowed to communicate in their pews. The same was done afterwards in the Tron Church, which he had just left. Some local agitation followed. At

last the innovation was challenged by the older Dr Begg, who, by an overture from his Presbytery, procured a declaration from the Assembly "that it is the law, and has been the immemorial practice of the Church of Scotland, to dispense the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper to the people seated at or around a Communion table or tables" and an injunction that this should be provided for in the rebuilding or reseating of Churches (Acts 1825, p. 34). In 1827 attempts to enforce this decision were petitioned against by several members of the Glasgow Presbytery, among others Dr Patrick Macfarlane, who had been Dr Chalmers's immediate successor in St John's. The Assembly repeated their deliverance, but with a dispensation in favour of the three churches where the irregularity had been introduced. The usual result of such *ex post facto* sanctions followed, and now the old Scottish Communion tables are hardly ever to be seen. What was pleaded in favour of the change was that it lightened the work by reducing the number of table services (Sir G. Burns's Life, p. 83). The next step in conformity to the wishes of the Westminster

Independents was to have simultaneous Communion. In this the Scottish dissenters led the way, following the example of their English brethren, and in process of time the Church of Scotland did the same. At the present day communicants are found sitting in all parts of our churches, sometimes, it is said, even in galleries.

Another modern departure from the Directory has been the introduction of funeral services, first in the house, and later at the grave. This was not, however, another postponed surrender of old Scottish usage to Independency, for at Westminster Scot and Puritan were of one mind on this matter, except that many of the English were in favour of funeral sermons, as many of the Continental Reformed were. The practice had indeed a modified sanction in the Common Order, derived from the Book of Geneva. But the Scots commissioners refused to be present when Pym's funeral sermon was preached, though the rest of the Assembly attended. All agreed, however, in passing the section of the Directory which forbids service in the house of the dead, apparently at the grave

also, and needs to be strained somewhat to sanction any subsequent service in the church. In Scotland all religious ceremonial at funerals was thenceforth avoided. The honours paid to the dead were of a very different kind. Profuse hospitality was expected, and the interment was often accompanied by coarse excess. In course of time a device was fallen upon which, while it conformed to the letter of the prohibition, lessened the scandal which attached to Scottish funerals. The minister attended, and under the name of saying grace, and returning thanks for the refreshments provided for the guests, engaged in devotions fitted for the occasion. But this religious service was of recent introduction. A witness, unsurpassed in his knowledge of Scottish life and character, and as a ruling elder entitled to speak with confidence on this point, in describing a fisherman's funeral, supposed to have taken place in the very end of the eighteenth century, says: "The fathers of the Scottish Kirk rejected, even on this most solemn occasion, the form of an address to the Divinity, lest they should be thought to give countenance to the rituals of Rome or of

England. With much better and more liberal judgment it is the present practice of most of the Scottish clergymen to seize this opportunity of offering a prayer and exhortation. . . . But this decent and praiseworthy practice was not adopted at the time of which I am treating, or at least Mr Blattergowl did not act upon it, and the ceremony proceeded without any devotional exercise" (Antiquary, chap. xxxi.) The passage deserves the attention of those persons who, with zeal in excess of their knowledge, take it for granted that every observance with which they have been familiar from childhood dates from the Reformation. The innovation of which Sir Walter saw the beginning soon became universal, and is already being displaced in its turn by services at the grave and in the church.

These brief notices of later departures from the Directory may serve to bridge the interval between the Commonwealth and the modern period with which another of this series of service-books has to deal. The Editor has now to present and to annotate the text of the Directory. The edition of which the following is a reprint is the original issue,

published in London by Evan Tyler, 1644-45. The sources from which the history of the book has to be gathered are, as has been shown, very limited. He has therefore not hesitated to use in great part the material of the notes appended to an earlier reprint edited by him in 1868. He has added in an Appendix the Act of the English Parliament summoning the Assembly; the Acts of the Scottish Assembly and Parliament confirming the Directory; the forms of Prayer from the Directory to be used at Sea; Baillie's paper to his colleagues, pleading for certain Scottish usages which it was proposed to abolish; and so much of the Westminster Directory for Church Government as has to do with the Doctrine and Ceremonial of Ordination.

[*Copy of Title-page of first English Edition.*]

A

DIRECTORY

FOR

THE PUBLIQUE WORSHIP OF GOD

THROUGHOUT THE THREE
KINGDOMS

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, and IRELAND.

Together with an Ordinance of Parliament for the taking away of the Book of Common-Prayer

AND

For establishing and observing of this present Directory throughout the Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales.

Die Jovis, 13 *Martii* 1644.

Ordered by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Ordinance and Directory bee forthwith Printed and Published:

JOH: BROWN, *Cleric. Parliamentorum.*

H. ELSINGE, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

LONDON:

Printed for *Evan Tyler*, *Alexander Fifield*, *Ralph Smith*, and *John Field:* And are to be sold at the Sign of the Bible in Cornhill, near the Royall-Exchange. 1644.

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Die Veneris, 3 *Januarii*, 1644.

An Ordinance *of* Parliament *for the taking away of the* Book of Common-Prayer, *and for the establishing and putting in execution of the* Directory *for the publique Worship of God.*

THE Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, taking into serious consideration the manifold Inconveniences that have arisen by the Book of Common-Prayer in this Kingdom, and resolving, according to their Covenant, to reform Religion according to the Word of God, and the Example of the best Reformed Churches, have Consulted with the Reverend, Pious, and Learned Divines, called together to that purpose; And do judge it necessary that the said Book of Common-Prayer be abolished, and the Directory for the publique Worship of God,

herein after mentioned, be established and observed in all the Churches within this Kingdom: Be it therefore Ordained by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the Statute of the second and third years of King Edward the Sixth, Intituled, The Penalty for not using Uniformity of Service, and Administration of Sacraments, &c.: And the Statute of the fifth and sixt yeares of the same King, Intituled, Uniformity of Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments shall be used in the Church: And so much of the Statute of the first year of Queen Elizabeth, Intituled, There shall be Uniformity of Prayer, and Administration of Sacraments as concernes the said Book of Common-Prayer, and the Uniformity of Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments: And so much of the Statute of the fifth year of the same Queen, Intituled, By whose Order, the Bible and Book of Common-Prayer shall be translated into the Welch tongue, as concerns the Book of Common-Prayer: And so much of the Statute of the eighth year of the same Queen, Intituled, All Acts made by any person since Primo Eliz.

for the Consecrating, Investing, &c., of any Archbishop or Bishop, shall be good, as concerns the said Book; Be and stand from henceforth Repealed, void, and of none effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes whatsoever; And that the said book of Common-Prayer shall not remain, or be from henceforth used in any Church, Chappell, or place of Publique Worship, within the Kingdom of England, or Dominion of Wales; and that the Directory for Publique Worship herein set forth shall be henceforth used, pursued, and observed, according to the true intent and meaning of this Ordinance, in all Exercises of the Publique Worship of God, in every Congregation, Church, Chappell, and place of Publique Worship within this Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales; Which Directory for the Publique Worship of God, with the Preface thereof followeth. And it is further Ordained by the Authority aforesaid, That there shall be provided at the charge of every Parish, or Chapelry in this Realm of England, and Dominion of Wales, a fair Register Book of Velim, to be kept by the Minister and other officers of the Church;

And that the names of all Children baptized, and of their Parents, and of the time of their Birth and Baptism, shall be written and set down by the Minister therein; And also the Names of all persons Married there, and the time of their Marriage; And also the Names of all persons Buried in that Parish, and the time of their Death and Buriall: and that the said Book shall be shewed by such as keep the same, to all persons reasonably desiring to search for the Birth, Baptizing, Marriage, or Buriall of any person therein Registred, and to take a Copy or procure a Certificate thereof.

PREFACE.

IN the beginning of the blessed Reformation, our wise and pious ancestors took care to set forth an Order for redress of many things, which they then, by the Word, discovered to be vain, erroneous, superstitious, and idolatrous, in the Public Worship of God. This occasioned many godly and learned men to rejoice much in the Book of Common Prayer, at that time set forth; because the Mass, and the rest of the Latin service being removed, the Public Worship was celebrated in our own tongue: many of the common people also received benefit by hearing the Scriptures read in their own language, which formerly were unto them as a book that is sealed.

Howbeit, long and sad experience hath

made it manifest, that the Liturgy used in the Church of England (notwithstanding all the pains and religious intentions of the compilers of it) hath proved an offence, not only to many of the godly at home, but also to the Reformed Churches abroad. For, not to speak of urging the reading of all the prayers, which very greatly increased the burden of it, the many unprofitable and burdensome ceremonies contained in it have occasioned much mischief, as well by disquieting the consciences of many godly ministers and people, who could not yield unto them, as by depriving them of the ordinances of God, which they might not enjoy without conforming or subscribing to those ceremonies. Sundry good Christians have been, by means thereof, kept from the Lord's Table; and divers able and faithful ministers debarred from the exercise of their ministry (to the endangering of many thousand souls, in a time of such scarcity of faithful pastors), and spoiled of their livelihood, to the undoing of them and their families. Prelates, and their faction, have laboured to raise the estimation of it to such a height, as if there were no

other worship, or way of worship of God amongst us, but only the Service-book; to the great hindrance of the preaching of the Word, and (in some places, especially of late) to the justling of it out as unnecessary, or (at best) as far inferior to the reading of Common Prayer; which was made no better than an idol by many ignorant and superstitious people, who, pleasing themselves in their presence at that Service, and their lip-labour in bearing a part in it, have thereby hardened themselves in their ignorance and carelessness of saving knowledge and true piety.

In the mean time, Papists boasted that the book was a compliance with them in a great part of their service; and so were not a little confirmed in their superstition and idolatry, expecting rather our return to them, than endeavouring the reformation of themselves: in which expectation they were of late very much encouraged, when, upon the pretended warrantableness of imposing of the former ceremonies, new ones were daily obtruded upon the Church.

Add hereunto (which was not foreseen, but

since hath come to pass), that the Liturgy hath been a great means, as on the one hand to make and increase an idle and unedifying ministry, which contented itself with set forms made to their hands by others, without putting forth themselves to exercise the gift of prayer, with which our Lord Jesus Christ pleaseth to furnish all His servants whom He calls to that office: so, on the other side, it hath been (and ever would be, if continued) a matter of endless strife and contention in the Church, and a snare both to many godly and faithful ministers, who have been persecuted and silenced upon that occasion, and to others of hopeful parts, many of which have been, and more still would be diverted from all thoughts of the ministry to other studies; especially in these latter times, wherein God vouchsafeth to His people more and better means for the discovery of error and superstition, and for attaining of knowledge in the mysteries of godliness, and gifts in Preaching and Prayer.

Upon these, and many the like weighty considerations in reference to the whole book in general, and because of divers particulars contained in it; not from any love to novelty, or intention to disparage our first Reformers

(of whom we are persuaded, that, were they now alive, they would join with us in this work, and whom we acknowledge as excellent instruments, raised by God, to begin the purging and building of His house, and desire they may be had of us and posterity in everlasting remembrance, with thankfulness and honour), but that we may in some measure answer the gracious providence of God, which at this time calleth upon us for further reformation, and may satisfy our own consciences, and answer the expectation of other Reformed Churches, and the desires of many of the godly among ourselves, and withal give some public testimony of our endeavours for uniformity in Divine Worship, which we have promised in our Solemn League and Covenant; We have, after earnest and frequent calling upon the name of God, and after much consultation, not with flesh and blood, but with His holy Word, resolved to lay aside the former Liturgy, with the many rites and ceremonies formerly used in the worship of God; and have agreed upon this following Directory for all the parts of Public Worship, at ordinary and extraordinary times.

Wherein our care hath been to hold forth

such things as are of Divine institution in every Ordinance; and other things we have endeavoured to set forth according to the rules of Christian prudence, agreeable to the general rules of the Word of God[1]; our meaning therein being only, that the general heads, the sense and scope of the Prayers, and other parts of Public Worship, being known to all, there may be a consent of all the Churches in those things that contain the substance of the Service and Worship of God, and the Ministers may be hereby directed, in their administrations, to keep like soundness in Doctrine and Prayer, and may, if need be, have some help and furniture; and yet so as they become not hereby slothful and negligent in stirring up the gifts of Christ in them; but that each one, by meditation, by taking heed to himself, and the flock of God committed to him, and by wise observing the ways of Divine Providence, may be careful to furnish his heart and tongue with further or other materials of Prayer and Exhortation, as shall be needful upon all occasions.

[1] In the original draft this clause was wanting.—MS. Records.

A

DIRECTORY

FOR

Public Prayer, Reading the Holy Scriptures, Singing of Psalms, Preaching of the Word, Administration of the Sacraments, and other parts of the Public Worship of God, Ordinary and Extraordinary.

Of the Assembling of the Congregation, and their Behaviour in the Public Worship of God.

WHEN the Congregation is to meet for Public Worship, the people (having before prepared their hearts thereunto) ought all to come and join therein; not absenting themselves from the Public Ordinances through negligence, or upon pretence of private meetings.

Let all enter the assembly, not irreverently, but in a grave and seemly manner, taking their seats or places without adoration, or bowing themselves towards one place or other.

The Congregation being assembled, the Minister, after solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God, is to begin with Prayer :—

"In all reverence and humility acknowledging the incomprehensible greatness and majesty of the Lord (in whose presence they do then in a special manner appear), and their own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near Him, with their utter inability of themselves to so great a work; And humbly beseeching Him for pardon, assistance, and acceptance, in the whole Service then to be performed; and for a blessing on that particular portion of His Word then to be read: And all in the Name and Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ."

The Public Worship being begun, the people are wholly to attend upon it, forbearing to read anything, except what the Minister is

then reading or citing; and abstaining much more from all private whisperings, conferences, salutations, or doing reverence to any persons present, or coming in; as also from all gazing, sleeping, and other undecent behaviour, which may disturb the Minister or people, or hinder themselves or others in the service of God.

If any, through necessity, be hindered from being present at the beginning, they ought not, when they come into the Congregation, to betake themselves to their private devotions, but reverently to compose themselves to join with the assembly in that Ordinance of God which is then in hand.

Of Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

READING of the Word in the Congregation, being part of the Public Worship of God (wherein we acknowledge our dependence upon Him, and subjection to Him), and one means sanctified by Him for the edifying of His people, is to be performed by the Pastors and Teachers.

Howbeit, such as intend the ministry, may

occasionally both read the Word, and exercise their gift in preaching in the Congregation, if allowed by the Presbytery thereunto.

All the Canonical Books of the Old and New Testament (but none of those which are commonly called *Apocrypha*) shall be publicly read in the vulgar tongue, out of the best allowed translation, distinctly, that all may hear and understand.

How large a portion shall be read at once, is left to the wisdom of the Minister; but it is convenient, that ordinarily one Chapter of each Testament be read at every meeting; and sometimes more, where the chapters be short, or the coherence of matter requireth it.

It is requisite that all the Canonical Books be read over in order, that the people may be better acquainted with the whole body of the Scriptures; and ordinarily, where the reading in either Testament endeth on one Lord's Day, it is to begin the next.

We commend also the more frequent reading of such Scriptures as he that readeth shall think best for edification of his hearers, as the Book of Psalms, and such like.

When the Minister who readeth shall judge

it necessary to expound any part of what is read, let it not be done until the whole Chapter or Psalm be ended; and regard is always to be had unto the time, that neither Preaching, or other Ordinance be straitened, or rendered tedious. Which rule is to be observed in all other public performances.

Beside Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures, every person that can read is to be exhorted to read the Scriptures privately (and all others that cannot read, if not disabled by age, or otherwise, are likewise to be exhorted to learn to read), and to have a Bible.

Of Public Prayer before the Sermon.

AFTER Reading of the Word (and Singing of the Psalm), the Minister who is to preach, is to endeavour to get his own and his hearers hearts to be rightly affected with their sins, that they may all mourn in sense thereof before the Lord, and hunger and thirst after the grace of God in Jesus Christ, by proceeding to a more full Confession of sin, with shame and holy confusion

of face, and to call upon the Lord to this effect:—

"To acknowledge our great sinfulness, First, by reason of original sin, which (beside the guilt that makes us liable to everlasting damnation) is the seed of all other sins, hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of soul and body, doth defile our best actions, and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by grace) would break forth into innumerable transgressions, and greatest rebellions against the Lord that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And next, by reason of actual sins, our own sins, the sins of magistrates, of ministers, and of the whole nation, unto which we are many ways accessory: Which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the commandments of the holy, just, and good law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone what is enjoined; and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously, against the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of His own Holy Spirit

to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins; Yea, not only despising the riches of God's goodness, forbearance, and long-suffering, but standing out against many invitations and offers of grace in the Gospel; not endeavouring, as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by faith, or to walk worthy of Him in our lives.

"To bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness; our not endeavouring after mortification and newness of life, nor after the exercise of godliness in the power thereof; and that the best of us have not so stedfastly walked with God, kept our garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of His glory, and the good of others, as we ought: And to mourn over such other sins as the congregation is particularly guilty of, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of our God, the love of Christ, the light of the Gospel, and Reformation of religion, our own purposes, promises, vows, solemn covenant, and other special obligations, to the contrary.

"To acknowledge and confess, that, as we are convinced of our guilt, so, out of a deep

sense thereof, we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of God's fiercest wrath, and of all the curses of the law, and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most rebellious sinners; and that He might most justly take His kingdom and Gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of spiritual and temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for evermore.

"Notwithstanding all which, To draw near to the throne of grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our prayers, in the riches and all-sufficiency of that only one Oblation, the Satisfaction and Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of His Father and our Father; and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of mercy and grace in the new covenant, through the same Mediator thereof, to deprecate the heavy wrath and curse of God, which we are not able to avoid, or bear; and humbly and earnestly to supplicate for mercy, in the free and full remission of all our sins,

and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ.

"That the Lord would vouchsafe to shed abroad His love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost; seal unto us, by the same Spirit of adoption, the full assurance of our pardon and reconciliation; comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the wounded and troubled spirit, and bind up the broken-hearted: And as for secure and presumptuous sinners, that He would open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by faith in Christ Jesus.

"With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, To pray for sanctification by His Spirit; the mortification of sin dwelling in, and many times tyrannizing over us; the quickening of our dead spirits with the life of God in Christ; grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation and callings towards God and men; strength against temptations; the sanctified use of blessings and crosses;

and perseverance in faith and obedience unto the end.

"To pray for the propagation of the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ to all nations; for the conversion of the Jews, the fulness of the Gentiles, the fall of Antichrist, and the hastening of the second coming of our Lord; for the deliverance of the distressed Churches abroad from the tyranny of the Antichristian faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk; for the blessing of God upon the Reformed Churches, especially upon the Churches and Kingdoms of Scotland, England, and Ireland, now more strictly and religiously united in the Solemn National League and Covenant; and for our plantations in the remote parts of the world: more particularly for that Church and Kingdom whereof we are members, that therein God would establish peace and truth, the purity of all His Ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove heresy, schism, profaneness, superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of grace; heal all our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our Solemn Covenant.

"To pray for all in authority, especially for the King's Majesty; that God would make him rich in blessings, both in his Person and Government; establish his Throne in religion and righteousness, save him from evil counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the Gospel, for the encouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the whole Church, and of all his Kingdoms; for the conversion of the Queen, the religious education of the Prince, and the rest of the Royal Seed; for the comforting of the afflicted Queen of Bohemia, sister to our Sovereign; and for the restitution and establishment of the illustrious Prince Charles, Elector Palatine of the Rhine, to all his dominions and dignities; for a blessing upon the High Court of Parliament (when sitting in any of these Kingdoms respectively), the Nobility, the subordinate Judges and Magistrates, the Gentry, and all the Commonalty; for all Pastors and Teachers, that God would fill them with His Spirit, make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in

their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful in their ministry; and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; and give unto all His people pastors according to His own heart; for the Universities, and all Schools and Religious seminaries of Church and Commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in learning and piety; for the particular City or Congregation, that God would pour out a blessing upon the ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and Discipline, upon the Civil Government, and all the several families and persons therein; for mercy to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress; for seasonable weather, and fruitful seasons, as the time may require; for averting the judgments that we either feel or fear, or are liable unto, as famine, pestilence, the sword, and suchlike.

"And, with confidence of His mercy to His whole Church, and the acceptance of our persons, through the merits and mediation of our great High Priest, the Lord Jesus, to profess that it is the desire of our souls to have fellowship with God in the reverend and conscionable use of His holy Ordinances;

and, to that purpose, to pray earnestly for His grace and effectual assistance to the sanctification of His holy Sabbath, the Lord's Day, in all the duties thereof, public and private, both to ourselves, and to all other Congregations of His people, according to the riches and excellency of the Gospel, this day celebrated and enjoyed.

"And because we have been unprofitable hearers in times past, and now cannot of ourselves receive, as we should, the deep things of God, the mysteries of Jesus Christ, which require a spiritual discerning; to pray, that the Lord, who teacheth to profit, would graciously please to pour out the Spirit of grace, together with the outward means thereof, causing us to attain such a measure of the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and, in Him, of the things which belong to our peace, that we may account all things but as dross in comparison of Him; and that we, tasting the first-fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect communion with Him, that where He is, we may be also, and enjoy the fulness of those joys and

pleasures which are at His right hand for evermore.

"More particularly, that God would in special manner furnish His Servant (now called to dispense the bread of life unto His household) with wisdom, fidelity, zeal, and utterance, that he may divide the word of God aright, to every one his portion, in evidence and demonstration of the Spirit and power; and that the Lord would circumcise the ears and hearts of the hearers, to hear, love, and receive with meekness the ingrafted word, which is able to save their souls; make them as good ground to receive in the good seed of the word, and strengthen them against the temptations of Satan, the cares of the world, the hardness of their own hearts, and whatsoever else may hinder their profitable and saving hearing; that so Christ may be so formed in them, and live in them, that all their thoughts may be brought into captivity to the obedience of Christ, and their hearts established in every good word and work for ever."

We judge this to be a convenient order,

in the ordinary Public Prayers; yet so, as the Minister may defer (as in prudence he shall think meet) some part of these Petitions till after his Sermon, or offer up to God some of the Thanksgivings hereafter appointed, in his Prayer before his Sermon.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

PREACHING of the Word, being the power of God unto salvation, and one of the greatest and most excellent works belonging to the ministry of the Gospel, should be so performed, that the workman need not be ashamed, but may save himself, and those that hear him.

It is presupposed (according to the Rules for Ordination), that the Minister of Christ is in some good measure gifted for so weighty a service, by his skill in the original languages, and in such arts and sciences as are handmaids unto divinity; by his knowledge in the whole body of theology, but most of all in the holy Scriptures, having his senses and heart exercised in them above the common sort of

believers; and by the illumination of God's Spirit, and other gifts of edification, which (together with reading and studying of the Word) he ought still to seek by prayer, and an humble heart, resolving to admit and receive any truth not yet attained, whenever God shall make it known unto him. All which he is to make use of, and improve, in his private preparations, before he deliver in public what he hath provided.

Ordinarily, the subject of his Sermon is to be some text of Scripture, holding forth some principle or head of religion, or suitable to some special occasion emergent; or he may go on in some Chapter, Psalm, or Book of the Holy Scripture, as he shall see fit.

Let the introduction to his text be brief and perspicuous, drawn from the text itself, or context, or some parallel place, or general sentence of Scripture.

If the text be long (as in histories or parables it sometimes must be), let him give a brief sum of it; if short, a paraphrase thereof, if need be: in both, looking diligently to the scope of the text, and pointing at the chief heads and grounds of doctrine which he is to raise from it.

In analysing and dividing his text, he is to regard more the order of matter than of words; and neither to burden the memory of the hearers in the beginning with too many members of division, nor to trouble their minds with obscure terms of art.

In raising Doctrines from the text, his care ought to be, *First*, That the matter be the truth of God. *Secondly*, That it be a truth contained in or grounded on that text, that the hearers may discern how God teacheth it from thence. *Thirdly*, That he chiefly insist upon those doctrines which are principally intended, and make most for the edification of the hearers.

The Doctrine is to be expressed in plain terms; or, if anything in it need explication, it is to be opened, and the consequence also from the text cleared. The parallel places, of Scripture, confirming the doctrine, are rather to be plain and pertinent, than many, and (if need be) somewhat insisted upon, and applied to the purpose in hand.

The Arguments or Reasons are to be solid, and, as much as may be, convincing. The illustrations, of what kind soever, ought to

be full of light, and such as may convey the truth into the hearer's heart with spiritual delight.

If any doubt, obvious from Scripture, reason, or prejudice of the hearers, seem to arise, it is very requisite to remove it, by reconciling the seeming differences, answering the reasons, and discovering and taking away the causes of prejudice and mistake. Otherwise it is not fit to detain the hearers with propounding or answering vain or wicked cavils, which, as they are endless, so the propounding and answering of them doth more hinder than promote edification.

He is not to rest in general Doctrine although never so much cleared and confirmed, but to bring it home to special Use, by application to his hearers: which albeit it prove a work of great difficulty to himself, requiring much prudence, zeal, and meditation, and to the natural and corrupt man will be very unpleasant; yet he is to endeavour to perform it in such a manner, that his auditors may feel the word of God to be quick and powerful, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart; and if that any unbeliever or

ignorant person be present, he may have the secrets of his heart made manifest, and give glory to God.

In the Use of Instruction or Information in the knowledge of some truth, which is a consequence from his Doctrine, he may (when convenient) confirm it by a few firm arguments from the text in hand, and other places of Scripture, or from the nature of that Commonplace in divinity, whereof that truth is a branch.

In confutation of false doctrines, he is neither to raise an old heresy from the grave, nor to mention a blasphemous opinion unnecessarily: but, if the people be in danger of an error, he is to confute it soundly, and endeavour to satisfy their judgments and consciences against all objections.

In exhorting to duties, he is, as he seeth cause, to teach also the means that help to the performance of them.

In dehortation, reprehension, and public admonition (which require special wisdom), let him, as there shall be cause, not only discover the nature and greatness of the sin, with the misery attending it, but also show the danger

his hearers are in to be overtaken and surprised by it, together with the remedies and best way to avoid it.

In applying comfort, whether general against all tentations, or particular against some special troubles or terrors, he is carefully to answer such objections as a troubled heart and afflicted spirit may suggest to the contrary.

It is also sometimes requisite to give some notes of trial (which is very profitable, especially when performed by able and experienced ministers, with circumspection and prudence, and the signs clearly grounded on the Holy Scripture), whereby the hearers may be able to examine themselves whether they have attained those graces, and performed those duties, to which he exhorteth, or be guilty of the sin reprehended, and in danger of the judgments threatened, or are such to whom the consolations propounded do belong; that accordingly they may be quickened and excited to duty, humbled for their wants and sins, affected with their danger, and strengthened with comfort, as their condition, upon examination, shall require.

And, as he needeth not always to prosecute every Doctrine which lies in his text, so is he wisely to make choice of such Uses, as, by his residence and conversing with his flock, he findeth most needful and seasonable; and, amongst these, such as may most draw their souls to Christ, the fountain of light, holiness, and comfort.

This method is not prescribed as necessary for every man, or upon every text; but only recommended, as being found by experience to be very much blessed of God, and very helpful for the people's understandings and memories.

But the Servant of Christ, whatever his method be, is to perform his whole ministry:

1. Painfully, not doing the work of the Lord negligently.

2. Plainly, that the meanest may understand; delivering the truth not in the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect; abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues, strange phrases, and cadences of

sounds and words; sparingly citing sentences of ecclesiastical or other human writers, ancient or modern, be they never so elegant.

3. Faithfully, looking at the honour of Christ, the conversion, edification, and salvation of the people, not at his own gain or glory; keeping nothing back which may promote those holy ends, giving to every one his own portion, and bearing indifferent respect unto all, without neglecting the meanest, or sparing the greatest in their sins.

4. Wisely framing all his doctrines, exhortations, and especially his reproofs, in such a manner as may be most likely to prevail; showing all due respect to each man's person and place, and not mixing his own passion or bitterness.

5. Gravely, as becometh the Word of God; shunning all such gesture, voice, and expressions, as may occasion the corruptions of men to despise him and his ministry.

6. With loving affection, that the people may see all coming from his godly zeal, and hearty desire to do them good. And,

7. As taught of God, and persuaded in his own heart, that all that he teacheth is the

truth of Christ; and walking before his flock, as an example to them in it; earnestly, both in private and public, recommending his labours to the blessing of God, and watchfully looking to himself, and the flock whereof the Lord hath made him overseer: So shall the doctrine of truth be preserved uncorrupt, many souls converted and built up, and himself receive manifold comforts of his labours even in this life, and afterward the crown of glory laid up for him in the world to come.

Where there are more Ministers in a Congregation than one, and they of different gifts, each may more especially apply himself to Doctrine or Exhortation, according to the gift wherein he most excelleth, and as they shall agree between themselves.

Of Prayer after the Sermon.

THE Sermon being ended, the Minister is

"To give thanks for the great love of God, in sending His Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the communication of His Holy Spirit; for

the light and liberty of the glorious Gospel, and the rich and heavenly blessings revealed therein; as, namely, election, vocation, adoption, justification, sanctification, and hope of glory; for the admirable goodness of God in freeing the land from Antichristian darkness and tyranny, and for all other national deliverances; for the Reformation of religion; for the Covenant; and for many temporal blessings.

"To pray for the continuance of the Gospel, and all Ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty.

To turn the chief and most useful heads of the Sermon into some few petitions; and to pray that it may abide in the heart, and bring forth fruit.

"To pray for preparation for death and judgment, and a watching for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: to entreat of God the forgiveness of the iniquities of our holy things, and the acceptation of our spiritual sacrifice, through the merit and mediation of our great High Priest and Saviour the Lord Jesus Christ."

And because the Prayer which Christ taught

His disciples is not only a pattern of prayer, but itself a most comprehensive prayer, we recommend it also to be used in the Prayers of the Church.

And whereas, at the Administration of the Sacraments, the holding public Fasts and days of Thanksgiving, and other special occasions, which may afford matter of special petitions and thanksgivings, it is requisite to express somewhat in our Public Prayers (as at this time it is our duty to pray for a blessing upon the Assembly of Divines, the armies by sea and land, for the defence of the King, Parliament, and Kingdom), every Minister is herein to apply himself in his Prayer, before or after his Sermon, to those occasions: but, for the manner, he is left to his liberty, as God shall direct and enable him in piety and wisdom to discharge his duty.

The Prayer ended, let a Psalm be sung, if with conveniency it may be done. After which (unless some other Ordinance of Christ, that concerneth the Congregation at that time, be to follow) let the Minister dismiss the Congregation with a solemn Blessing.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS:

And first, of Baptism.

BAPTISM, as it is not unnecessarily to be delayed, so it is not to be administered in any case by any private person, but by a Minister of Christ, called to be the steward of the mysteries of God.

Nor is it to be administered in private places, or privately, but in the place of Public Worship, and in the face of the Congregation, where the people may most conveniently see and hear; and not in the places where fonts, in the time of Popery, were unfitly, and superstitiously placed.

The Child to be Baptized, after notice given to the Minister the day before, is to be presented by the Father, or (in case of his necessary absence) by some Christian friend in his place, professing his earnest desire that the Child may be Baptized.

Before Baptism, the Minister is to use some words of instruction, touching the institution,

nature, use, and ends of this Sacrament, showing,—

"That it is instituted by our Lord Jesus Christ: That it is a Seal of the Covenant of grace, of our ingrafting into Christ, and of our union with Him, of remission of sins, regeneration, adoption, and life eternal: That the water, in Baptism, representeth and signifieth both the blood of Christ, which taketh away all guilt of sin, original and actual; and the sanctifying virtue of the Spirit of Christ against the dominion of sin, and the corruption of our sinful nature: That Baptizing, or sprinkling and washing with water, signifieth the cleansing from sin by the blood and for the merit of Christ, together with the mortification of sin, and rising from sin to newness of life, by virtue of the death and resurrection of Christ: That the promise is made to believers and their seed; and that the seed and posterity of the faithful, born within the Church, have, by their birth, interest in the Covenant, and right to the Seal of it, and to the outward privileges of the Church, under the Gospel, no less than the

children of Abraham in the time of the Old Testament; the covenant of grace, for substance, being the same; and the grace of God, and the consolation of believers, more plentiful than before: That the Son of God admitted little children into His presence, embracing and blessing them, saying, *For of such is the kingdom of God:* That children, by Baptism, are solemnly received into the bosom of the Visible Church, distinguished from the world, and them that are without, and united with believers; and that all who are Baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their Baptism are bound to fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh: That they are Christians, and federally holy before Baptism, and therefore are they Baptized: That the inward grace and virtue of Baptism is not tied to that very moment of time wherein it is administered, and that the fruit and power thereof reacheth to the whole course of our life; and that outward Baptism is not so necessary, that, through the want thereof, the infant is in danger of damnation, or the parents guilty, if they do not contemn or neglect the Ordin-

ance of Christ, when and where it may be had."

In these or the like instructions, the Minister is to use his own liberty and godly wisdom, as the ignorance or errors in the doctrine of Baptism, and the edification of the people, shall require.

He is also to admonish all that are present,

"To look back to their Baptism; to repent of their sins against their Covenant with God; to stir up their faith; to improve and make right use of their Baptism, and of the Covenant sealed thereby betwixt God and their souls."

He is to exhort the Parent,

"To consider the great mercy of God to him and his Child; to bring up the Child in the knowledge of the grounds of the Christian religion, and in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; And to let him know the danger of God's wrath to himself and Child, if he be negligent: Requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty."

This being done, Prayer is also to be joined with the Word of Institution, for sanctifying the Water to this spiritual use; and the Minister is to pray to this or the like effect:—

"That the Lord, who hath not left us as strangers without the covenant of promise, but called us to the privileges of His ordinances, would graciously vouchsafe to sanctify and bless His own Ordinance of Baptism at this time: That He would join the inward Baptism of His Spirit with the outward Baptism of Water; make this Baptism to the Infant a Seal of Adoption, Remission of sin, Regeneration, and Eternal Life, and all other promises of the Covenant of grace: That the Child may be planted into the likeness of the Death and Resurrection of Christ; and that, the body of sin being destroyed in him, he may serve God in newness of life all his days."

Then the Minister is to demand the name of the Child; which being told him, he is to say (calling the Child by his name),

I BAPTIZE THEE IN THE NAME OF THE FATHER, OF THE SON, AND OF THE HOLY GHOST.

As he pronounceth these words, he is to Baptize the Child with Water: which, for the manner of doing of it, is not only lawful but sufficient, and most expedient to be, by pouring or sprinkling of the water on the face of the Child, without adding any other ceremony.

This done, he is to give thanks and pray, to this or the like purpose:—

"Acknowledging with all thankfulness, that the Lord is true and faithful in keeping covenant and mercy: That He is good and gracious, not only in that He numbereth us among His saints, but is pleased also to bestow upon our children this singular token and badge of His love in Christ: That, in His truth and special providence, He daily bringeth some into the bosom of His Church, to be partakers of His inestimable benefits, purchased by the blood of His dear Son, for the continuance and increase of His Church.

"And praying, That the Lord would still continue, and daily confirm more and more

this His unspeakable favour: That He would receive the Infant now Baptized, and solemnly entered into the household of faith, into His fatherly tuition and defence, and remember him with the favour that He showeth to His people; that, if he shall be taken out of this life in his infancy, the Lord, who is rich in mercy, would be pleased to receive him up into glory; and if he live, and attain the years of discretion, that the Lord would so teach him by His word and Spirit, and make his Baptism effectual to him, and so uphold him by His divine power and grace, that by faith he may prevail against the devil, the world, and the flesh, till in the end he obtain a full and final victory, and so be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, through Jesus Christ our Lord."

Of the Celebration of the Communion, or Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

THE Communion, or Supper of the Lord, is frequently to be celebrated; but how often, may be considered and determined by

the Ministers, and other Church-governors of each Congregation, as they shall find most convenient for the comfort and edification of the people committed to their charge. And, when it shall be administered, we judge it convenient to be done after the Morning Sermon.

The ignorant and the scandalous are not fit to receive this Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Where this Sacrament cannot with conveniency be frequently administered, it is requisite that public warning be given the Sabbath Day before the administration thereof: and that either then, or on some day of that week, something concerning that Ordinance, and the due preparation thereunto, and participation thereof, be taught; that, by the diligent use of all means sanctified of God to that end, both in public and private, all may come better prepared to that heavenly Feast.

When the day is come for administration, the Minister, having ended his Sermon and Prayer, shall make a short Exhortation:—

"Expressing the inestimable benefit we

have by this Sacrament, together with the ends and use thereof: setting forth the great necessity of having our comforts and strength renewed thereby in this our pilgrimage and warfare: how necessary it is that we come unto it with knowledge, faith, repentance, love, and with hungering and thirsting souls after Christ and His benefits: how great the danger to eat and drink unworthily.

"Next, he is, in the Name of Christ, on the one part, to warn all such as are ignorant, scandalous, profane, or that live in any sin or offence against their knowledge or conscience, that they presume not to come to that Holy Table; showing them, that he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh judgment unto himself: And, on the other part, he is in especial manner to invite and encourage all that labour under the sense of the burden of their sins, and fear of wrath, and desire to reach out unto a greater progress in grace than yet they can attain unto, to come to the Lord's Table; assuring them, in the same Name, of ease, refreshing, and strength to their weak and wearied souls."

After this exhortation, warning, and invitation, the Table being before decently covered, and so conveniently placed, that the Communicants may orderly sit about it, or at it, the Minister is to begin the Action with sanctifying and blessing the Elements of Bread and Wine set before him (the Bread in comely and convenient vessels, so prepared, that, being broken by him, and given, it may be distributed amongst the Communicants; the Wine also in large cups), having first, in a few words, showed, That those Elements, otherwise common, are now set apart and sanctified to this holy use, by the Word of Institution and Prayer.

Let the Words of Institution be read out of the Evangelists, or out of the first Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians, chap. xi. 23. *I have received of the Lord*, &c., to the 27th verse, which the Minister may, when he seeth requisite, explain and apply.

Let the Prayer, Thanksgiving, or Blessing of the Bread and Wine, be to this effect:

"With humble and hearty acknowledgment of the greatness of our misery, from

which neither man nor angel was able to deliver us, and of our great unworthiness of the least of all God's mercies; To give thanks to God for all His benefits, and especially for that great benefit of our redemption, the love of God the Father, the sufferings and merits of the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, by which we are delivered; and for all means of grace, the Word and Sacraments; and for this Sacrament in particular, by which Christ, and all His benefits, are applied and sealed up unto us, which, notwithstanding the denial of them unto others, are in great mercy continued unto us, after so much and long abuse of them all.

"To profess that there is no other name under heaven by which we can be saved, but the Name of Jesus Christ, by whom alone we receive liberty and life, have access to the throne of grace, are admitted to eat and drink at His own Table, and are sealed up by His Spirit to an assurance of happiness and everlasting life.

"Earnestly to pray to God, the Father of all mercies, and God of all consolation, to vouchsafe His gracious presence, and the

effectual working of His Spirit in us; and so to sanctify these Elements both of Bread and Wine, and to bless His own Ordinance, that we may receive by faith the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for us, and so to feed upon Him, that He may be one with us, and we with Him; that He may live in us, and we in Him, and to Him who hath loved us, and given Himself for us."

All which he is to endeavour to perform with suitable affections, answerable to such an holy Action, and to stir up the like in the people.

The Elements being now sanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Minister, being at the Table, is to take the Bread in his hand, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ or His apostle upon this occasion):—

"According to the holy institution, command, and example of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ, I take this Bread, and, having given thanks, break it, and give it unto you."

There the Minister, who is also himself to

communicate, is to break the Bread, and give it to the Communicants.

"TAKE YE, EAT YE; THIS IS THE BODY OF CHRIST WHICH IS BROKEN FOR YOU: DO THIS IN REMEMBRANCE OF HIM."

In like manner the Minister is to take the Cup, and say, in these expressions (or other the like, used by Christ or the apostle upon the same occasion):—

"According to the institution, command, and example of our Lord Jesus Christ, I take this Cup, and give it unto you."

Here he giveth it to the Communicants.

"THIS CUP IS THE NEW TESTAMENT IN THE BLOOD OF CHRIST, WHICH IS SHED FOR THE REMISSION OF THE SINS OF MANY: DRINK YE ALL OF IT."

After all have communicated, the Minister may, in a few words, put them in mind

"Of the grace of God, in Jesus Christ held forth in this Sacrament; and exhort them to walk worthy of it."

The Minister is to give solemn Thanks to God,

"For His rich mercy, and invaluable goodness, vouchsafed to them in that Sacrament; and to entreat for pardon for the defects of the whole service, and for the gracious assistance of His good Spirit, whereby they may be enabled to walk in the strength of that grace, as becometh those who have received so great pledges of salvation."

The Collection for the Poor is so to be ordered, that no part of the public worship be thereby hindered.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

THE Lord's Day ought to be so remembered beforehand, as that all worldly business of our ordinary callings may be so ordered, and so timely and seasonably laid aside, as they may not be impediments to the due sanctifying of the day when it comes.

The whole day is to be celebrated as holy

to the Lord, both in public and private, as being the Christian Sabbath. To which end, it is requisite, that there be a holy cessation, or resting all the day, from all unnecessary labours; and an abstaining, not only from all sports and pastimes, but also from all worldly words and thoughts.

That the diet on that day be so ordered, as that neither servants be unnecessarily detained from the public worship of God, nor any other persons hindered from the sanctifying that day.

That there be private preparations of every person and family, by prayer for themselves, and for God's assistance of the Minister, and for a blessing upon his ministry; and by such other holy exercises, as may further dispose them to a more comfortable communion with God in His public Ordinances.

That all the people meet so timely for Public Worship, that the whole Congregation may be present at the beginning, and with one heart solemnly join together in all parts of the Public Worship, and not depart till after the Blessing.

That what time is vacant, between or after

the solemn meetings of the Congregation in public, be spent in reading, meditation, repetition of sermons; especially by calling their families to an account of what they have heard, and catechizing of them, holy conferences, prayer for a blessing upon the public Ordinances, singing of Psalms, visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and such like duties of piety, charity, and mercy, accounting the Sabbath a delight.

The Solemnisation of Marriage.

ALTHOUGH Marriage be no Sacrament, nor peculiar to the Church of God, but common to mankind, and of public interest in every commonwealth; yet, because such as marry are to marry in the Lord, and have special need of instruction, direction, and exhortation, from the Word of God, at their entering into such a new condition, and of the blessing of God upon them therein, we judge it expedient that Marriage be solemnised by a lawful Minister of the Word, that he may accordingly counsel them, and pray for a blessing upon them.

Marriage is to be betwixt one man and one woman only; and they, such as are not within the degrees of consanguinity or affinity prohibited by the Word of God; and the parties are to be of years of discretion, fit to make their own choice, or, upon good grounds, to give their mutual consent.

Before the solemnising of Marriage between any persons, their purpose of Marriage shall be published by the Minister three several Sabbath Days, in the Congregation, at the place or places of their most usual and constant abode, respectively. And of this publication the Minister who is to join them in Marriage shall have sufficient testimony, before he proceed to solemnise the Marriage.

Before that publication of such their purpose (if the parties be under age), the consent of the parents, or others under whose power they are (in case the parents be dead), is to be made known to the Church officers of that Congregation, to be recorded.

The like is to be observed in the proceedings of all others, although of age, whose parents are living, for their first Marriage. And, in after Marriages of either of those parties, they

shall be exhorted not to contract Marriage without first acquainting their parents with it (if with conveniency it may be done), endeavouring to obtain their consent.

Parents ought not to force their children to marry without their free consent, nor deny their own consent without just cause.

After the purpose or contract of Marriage hath been thus published, the Marriage is not to be long deferred. Therefore the Minister, having had convenient warning, and nothing being objected to hinder it, is publicly to solemnise it in the place appointed by authority for Public Worship, before a competent number of credible witnesses, at some convenient hour of the day, at any time of the year, except on a day of public humiliation. And we advise that it be not on the Lord's Day.

And because all relations are sanctified by the Word and Prayer, the Minister is to pray for a blessing upon them, to this effect:—

"Acknowledging our sins, whereby we have made ourselves less than the least of all the mercies of God, and provoked Him to embitter all our comforts; earnestly, in the name of

Christ, to entreat the Lord (whose presence and favour is the happiness of every condition, and sweetens every relation) to be their portion, and to own and accept them in Christ, who are now to be joined in the honourable estate of Marriage, the covenant of their God: and that, as He hath brought them together by His providence, He would sanctify them by His Spirit, giving them a new frame of heart fit for their new estate; enriching them with all graces whereby they may perform the duties, enjoy the comforts, undergo the cares, and resist the temptations which accompany that condition, as becometh Christians."

The Prayer being ended, it is convenient that the Minister do briefly declare unto them, out of the Scripture,

"The institution, use, and ends of Marriage, with the conjugal duties, which, in all faithfulness, they are to perform each to other; exhorting them to study the Holy Word of God, that they may learn to live by faith, and to be content in the midst of all marriage cares and troubles, sanctifying God's Name, in a thankful, sober, and holy use of all conjugal comforts;

praying much with and for one another; watching over and provoking each other to love and good works; and to live together as the heirs of the grace of life."

After solemn charging of the persons to be married, before the great God, who searcheth all hearts, and to whom they must give a strict account at the last day, that if either of them know any cause, by precontract or otherwise, why they may not lawfully proceed to marriage, that they now discover it; The Minister (if no impediment be acknowledged) shall cause first the Man to take the Woman by the right hand, saying these words:—

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married Wife, and do, in the presence of God, and before this Congregation, promise and covenant to be a loving and faithful Husband unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.*

Then the Woman shall take the Man by his right hand, and say these words:—

I N. *do take thee* N. *to be my married Husband, and I do, in the presence of God, and before this Congregation, promise and covenant*

to be a loving, faithful, and obedient Wife unto thee, until God shall separate us by death.

Then, without any further ceremony, the Minister shall, in the face of the Congregation, pronounce them to be Husband and Wife, according to God's Ordinance; and so conclude the Action with Prayer to this effect:—

"That the Lord would be pleased to accompany His own Ordinance with His blessing, beseeching Him to enrich the persons now married, as with other pledges of His love, so particularly with the comforts and fruits of Marriage, to the praise of His abundant mercy, in and through Christ Jesus."

A Register is to be carefully kept, wherein the names of the parties so married, with the time of their marriage, are forthwith to be fairly recorded in a book provided for that purpose, for the perusal of all whom it may concern.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

IT is the duty of the Minister not only to teach the people committed to his charge in public, but privately; and particularly to

admonish, exhort, reprove, and comfort them, upon all seasonable occasions, so far as his time, strength, and personal safety will permit.

He is to admonish them, in time of health, to prepare for death; and, for that purpose, they are often to confer with their Minister about the estate of their souls; and, in times of sickness, to desire his advice and help, timely and seasonably, before their strength and understanding fail them.

Times of sickness and affliction are special opportunities put into his hand by God to minister a word in season to weary souls: because then the consciences of men are or should be more awakened to bethink themselves of their spiritual estates for eternity; and Satan also takes advantage then to load them more with sore and heavy temptations: Therefore the Minister, being sent for, and repairing to the sick, is to apply himself, with all tenderness and love, to administer some spiritual good to his soul, to this effect:—

He may, from the consideration of the present sickness, instruct him out of Scripture, that diseases come not by chance, or by distempers of body only, but by the

wise and orderly guidance of the good hand of God to every particular person smitten by them. And that, whether it be laid upon him out of displeasure for sin, for his correction and amendment, or for trial and exercise of his graces, or for other special and excellent ends, all his sufferings shall turn to his profit, and work together for his good, if he sincerely labour to make a sanctified use of God's visitation, neither despising His chastening, nor waxing weary of His correction.

If he suspect him of ignorance, he shall examine him in the principles of religion, especially touching repentance and faith; and, as he seeth cause, instruct him in the nature, use, excellency, and necessity of those graces; as also touching the covenant of grace; and Christ the Son of God, the Mediator of it; and concerning remission of sins by faith in Him.

He shall exhort the sick person to examine himself, to search and try his former ways, and his estate towards God.

And if the sick person shall declare any scruple, doubt, or temptation that are upon him, instructions and resolutions shall be given to satisfy and settle him.

If it appear that he hath not a due sense of his sins, endeavours ought to be used to convince him of his sins, of the guilt and desert of them; of the filth and pollution which the soul contracts by them; and of the curse of the law, and wrath of God, due to them; that he may be truly affected with and humbled for them: and withal to make known the danger of deferring repentance, and of neglecting salvation at any time offered; to awaken his conscience, and rouse him up out of a stupid and secure condition, to apprehend the justice and wrath of God, before whom none can stand, but he that, being lost in himself, layeth hold upon Christ by faith.

If he have endeavoured to walk in the ways of holiness, and to serve God in uprightness, although not without many failings and infirmities; or, if his spirit be broken with the sense of sin, or cast down through want of the sense of God's favour; then it will be fit to raise him up, by setting before him the freeness and fulness of God's grace, the sufficiency of righteousness in Christ, the gracious offers in the Gospel, that all who

repent, and believe with all their heart in God's mercy through Christ, renouncing their own righteousness, shall have life and salvation in Him.

It may be also useful to show him, that death hath in it no spiritual evil to be feared by those that are in Christ, because sin, the sting of death, is taken away by Christ, who hath delivered all that are His from the bondage of the fear of death, triumphed over the grave, given us victory, is Himself entered into glory to prepare a place for His people: so that neither life nor death shall be able to separate them from God's love in Christ, in whom such are sure, though now they must be laid in the dust, to obtain a joyful and glorious resurrection to eternal life.

Advice also may be given, as to beware of an ill-grounded persuasion on mercy, or on the goodness of his condition for heaven, so to disclaim all merit in himself, and to cast himself wholly upon God for mercy, in the sole merits and mediation of Jesus Christ, who hath engaged Himself never to cast off them who in truth and sincerity come unto Him. Care also must be taken, that the sick

person be not cast down into despair, by such a severe representation of the wrath of God due to him for his sins, as is not mollified by a sensible propounding of Christ and His merit for a door of hope to every penitent believer.

When the sick person is best composed, may be least disturbed, and other necessary offices about him least hindered, the Minister, if desired, shall pray with him, and for him, to this effect:—

"Confessing and bewailing of sin original and actual; the miserable condition of all by nature, as being children of wrath, and under the curse; acknowledging that all diseases, sicknesses, death, and hell itself, are the proper issues and effects thereof; imploring God's mercy for the sick person, through the blood of Christ; beseeching that God would open his eyes, discover unto him his sins, cause him to see himself lost in himself, make known to him the cause why God smiteth him, reveal Jesus Christ to his soul for righteousness and life, give unto him His Holy Spirit, to create and strengthen faith to

lay hold upon Christ, to work in him comfortable evidences of His love, to arm him against temptations, to take off his heart from the world, to sanctify his present visitation, to furnish him with patience and strength to bear it, and to give him perseverance in faith to the end.

"That, if God shall please to add to his days, He would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify all means of his recovery; to remove the disease, renew his strength, and enable him to walk worthy of God, by a faithful remembrance, and diligent observing of such vows and promises of holiness and obedience, as men are apt to make in times of sickness, that he may glorify God in the remaining part of his life.

"And, if God have determined to finish his days by the present visitation, he may find such evidence of the pardon of all his sins, of his interest in Christ, and eternal life by Christ, as may cause his inward man to be renewed, while his outward man decayeth; that he may behold death without fear, cast himself wholly upon Christ without doubting, desire to be dissolved and to be

with Christ, and so receive the end of his faith, the salvation of his soul, through the only merits and intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, our alone Saviour and all-sufficient Redeemer."

The Minister shall admonish him also (as there shall be cause) to set his house in order, thereby to prevent inconveniences; to take care for the payment of his debts, and to make restitution or satisfaction where he hath done any wrong; to be reconciled to those with whom he hath been at variance, and fully to forgive all men their trespasses against him, as he expects forgiveness at the hand of God.

Lastly, The Minister may improve the present occasion to exhort those about the sick person to consider their own mortality, to return to the Lord, and make peace with Him; in health to prepare for sickness, death, and judgment; and all the days of their appointed time so to wait until their change come, that when Christ, who is our life, shall appear, they may appear with Him in glory.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

WHEN any person departeth this life, let the dead body, upon the day of Burial, be decently attended from the house to the place appointed for public burial, and there immediately interred, without any ceremony.

And because the custom of kneeling down, and praying by or towards the dead corpse, and other such usages, in the place where it lies before it be carried to Burial, are superstitious; and for that praying, reading, and singing, both in going to and at the grave, have been grossly abused, are no way beneficial to the dead, and have proved many ways hurtful to the living; therefore let all such things be laid aside.

Howbeit, we judge it very convenient, that the Christian friends which accompany the dead body to the place appointed for public Burial, do apply themselves to meditations and conferences suitable to the occasion; and that the Minister, as upon other occasions, so at this time, if he be present, may put them in remembrance of their duty.

That this shall not extend to deny any

civil respects or deferences at the Burial, suitable to the rank and condition of the party deceased, while he was living.

Concerning Public Solemn Fasting.

WHEN some great and notable judgments are either inflicted upon a people, or apparently imminent, or by some extraordinary provocations notoriously deserved; as also when some special blessing is to be sought and obtained, Public Solemn Fasting (which is to continue the whole day) is a duty that God expecteth from that nation or people.

A religious Fast requires total abstinence, not only from all food (unless bodily weakness do manifestly disable from holding out till the Fast be ended, in which case somewhat may be taken, yet very sparingly, to support nature, when ready to faint), but also from all worldly labour, discourses, and thoughts, and from all bodily delights (although at other times lawful), rich apparel, ornaments, and such like, during the Fast; and much more from whatever is in the nature or use scandalous and offensive, as gaudish attire,

lascivious habits and gestures, and other vanities of either sex; which we recommend to all ministers, in their places, diligently and zealously to reprove, as at other times so especially at a Fast, without respect of persons, as there shall be occasion.

Before the public meeting, each family and person apart are privately to use all religious care to prepare their hearts to such a solemn work, and to be early at the Congregation.

So large a portion of the day as conveniently may be, is to be spent in Public Reading and Preaching of the Word, with Singing of Psalms fit to quicken affections suitable to such a duty: but especially in Prayer, to this or the like effect:—

"Giving glory to the great Majesty of God, the Creator, Preserver, and supreme Ruler of all the world, the better to affect us thereby with a holy reverence and awe of Him; Acknowledging His manifold, great, and tender mercies, especially to the Church and Nation, the more effectually to soften and abase our hearts before Him; Humbly confessing of sins of all sorts, with their several aggrava-

tions; justifying God's righteous judgments, as being far less than our sins do deserve; yet humbly and earnestly imploring His mercy and grace for ourselves, the Church and Nation, for our King, and all in authority, and for all others for whom we are bound to pray (according as the present exigent requireth), with more special importunity and enlargement than at other times; Applying by faith the promises and goodness of God for pardon, help, and deliverance from the evils felt, feared, or deserved; and for obtaining the blessings which we need and expect; together with a giving up of ourselves wholly and for ever unto the Lord."

In all these, the Ministers, who are the mouths of the people unto God, ought so to speak from their hearts, upon serious and thorough premeditation of them, that both themselves and their people may be much affected, and even melted thereby, especially with sorrow for their sins; that it may be indeed a day of deep humiliation and afflicting of the soul.

Special choice is to be made of such Scrip-

tures to be read, and of such texts for Preaching, as may best work the hearts of the hearers to the special business of the day, and most dispose them to humiliation and repentance: insisting most on those particulars which each minister's observation and experience tells him are most conducing to the edification and reformation of that Congregation to which he preacheth.

Before the close of the public duties, the Minister is, in his own and the people's name, to engage his and their hearts to be the Lord's, with professed purpose and resolution to reform whatever is amiss among them, and more particularly such sins as they have been more remarkably guilty of; and to draw nearer unto God, and to walk more closely and faithfully with Him in new obedience, than ever before.

He is also to admonish the people, with all importunity, that the work of that day doth not end with the public duties of it, but that they are so to improve the remainder of the day, and of their whole life, in reinforcing upon themselves and their families in private all those godly affections and resolutions

which they professed in public, as that they may be settled in their hearts for ever, and themselves may more sensibly find that God hath smelt a sweet savour in Christ from their performances, and is pacified towards them, by answers of grace, in pardoning of sin, in removing of judgments, in averting or preventing of plagues, and in conferring of blessings, suitable to the conditions and prayers of His people, by Jesus Christ.

Besides solemn and general Fasts enjoined by authority, we judge that, at other times, Congregations may keep days of Fasting, as divine providence shall administer unto them special occasions; And also that families may do the same, so it be not on days wherein the Congregation to which they do belong is to meet for Fasting, or other public duties of Worship.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving.

WHEN any such day is to be kept, let notice be given of it, and of the occasion thereof, some convenient time before,

that the people may the better prepare themselves thereunto.

The day being come, and the Congregation (after private preparations) being assembled, the Minister is to begin with a word of Exhortation, to stir up the people to the duty for which they are met, and with a short Prayer for God's assistance and blessing (as at other conventions for Public Worship), according to the particular occasion of their meeting.

Let him then make some pithy narration of the deliverance obtained, or mercy received, or of whatever hath occasioned that assembling of the Congregation, that all may better understand it, or be minded of it, and more affected with it.

And, because Singing of Psalms is of all other the most proper Ordinance for expressing of joy and thanksgiving, let some pertinent Psalm or Psalms be sung for that purpose, before or after the Reading of some portion of the Word suitable to the present business.

Then let the Minister, who is to preach, proceed to further Exhortation and Prayer before his Sermon, with special reference to

the present work: after which, let him preach upon some text of Scripture pertinent to the occasion.

The Sermon ended, let him not only pray, as at other times after preaching is directed, with remembrance of the necessities of the Church, King, and State (if before the Sermon they were omitted), but enlarge himself in due and solemn Thanksgiving for former mercies and deliverances; but more especially for that which at the present calls them together to give thanks: with humble petition for the continuance and renewing of God's wonted mercies, as need shall be, and for sanctifying grace to make a right use thereof. And so, having sung another Psalm, suitable to the mercy, let him dismiss the Congregation with a Blessing, that they may have some convenient time for their repast and refreshing.

But the Minister (before their dismission) is solemnly to admonish them to beware of all excess and riot, tending to gluttony or drunkenness, and much more of these sins themselves, in their eating and refreshing; and to take care that their mirth and rejoicing be not carnal, but spiritual, which may

make God's praise to be glorious, and themselves humble and sober; and that both their feeding and rejoicing may render them more cheerful and enlarged further to celebrate His praises in the midst of the Congregation, when they return unto it in the remaining part of that day.

When the Congregation shall be again assembled, the like course in praying, reading, preaching, singing of Psalms, and offering up of more praise and thanksgiving, that is before directed for the Morning, is to be renewed and continued, so far as the time will give leave.

At one or both of the public meetings that day, a Collection is to be made for the Poor (and in the like manner upon the day of public Humiliation), that their loins may bless us, and rejoice the more with us. And the people are to be exhorted, at the end of the latter meeting, to spend the residue of that day in holy duties, and testifications of Christian love and charity one towards another, and of rejoicing more and more in the Lord; as becometh those who make the joy of the Lord their strength.

Of Singing of Psalms.

IT is the duty of Christians to praise God publicly, by Singing of Psalms together in the Congregation, and also privately in the family.

In Singing of Psalms, the voice is to be tunably and gravely ordered; but the chief care must be to sing with understanding, and with grace in the heart, making melody unto the Lord.

That the whole Congregation may join herein, every one that can read is to have a Psalm book; and all others, not disabled by age or otherwise, are to be exhorted to learn to read. But for the present, where many in the Congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the Minister, or some other fit person appointed by him and the other Ruling Officers, do read the Psalm, line by line, before the singing thereof.

An Appendix, touching Days and Places for Public Worship.

THERE is no day commanded in Scripture to be kept holy under the Gospel but the Lord's Day, which is the Christian Sabbath.

Festival days, vulgarly called *Holy-days*, having no warrant in the Word of God, are not to be continued.

Nevertheless, it is lawful and necessary, upon special emergent occasions, to separate a day or days for public fasting or thanksgiving, as the several eminent and extraordinary dispensations of God's providence shall administer cause and opportunity to His people.

As no place is capable of any holiness, under pretence of whatsoever dedication or consecration; so neither is it subject to such pollution by any superstition formerly used, and now laid aside, as may render it unlawful or inconvenient for Christians to meet together therein for the Public Worship of God. And therefore we hold it requisite, that the places of public assembling for worship among us should be continued and employed to that use.

NOTES.

The Preface.

THE MS. notes in which Byfield reports the speech made by Marshall, the Chairman of Committee, when he tabled the first draft of the Directory on the 24th of May, may here be given, both as a specimen of the scribe's Records, and as a key to the differences of opinion which the latter part of the preface was meant to reconcile. It runs thus: "Many serious and sad debates about the prayers, and difficulties on both sides. . . . For the continuance of that book many rules because for both nations . . . and extreme prejudices throughout the kingdom against the present book. . . . No water could wash it so far and no correcting it without a perpetual cent in this kingdom, and thereupon they conceived there must be a new directory framed. . . . Another doubt whether they should make formed prayers or only a directory to reach

those. If formal, then either they must be imposed or not, if not imposed, better nothing at all. . . . If impose them upon the consciences of ministers and people, would leave the same pinch that the consciences of many lie under now . . . and would increase the gap that is open to separation. But on the other side, a difficulty, if no formed prayers made, but every one left to his own will, so many raw and inexperienced ministers as would make the ordinances of God ridiculous. The directory that the Committee hath thus far proceeded in doth in great measure prevent against many dangers that the weak may have some help and the scrupulous . . . and a kind of uniformity as great as need to be looked after in the variety of gifts that God hath given. . . . This doth not only set down the heads of things, but so largely as that with the altering of here and there a word a man may mould it into a prayer. . . . All the prayers for the Lord's Day are drawn up into one body without any dividing of them, that if they do appear to be fit materials the rest may be done suddenly, if returned back to them." It was obvious that the use to be made of the devotional forms and exhortations would greatly depend on the wording of the Preface, and the course taken was to delay the framing of it in the meantime. We hear no more of it till the 23rd of September, when a new subcommittee is nominated to draw it up, consisting

of Nye, Bridge, Burroughs, and Goodwin, Vines, Reynolds, Marshall, and Temple, with the Scots to assist (Neal's Puritans, iii. 129). The first four of these were Independents, an excessive representation of a body which did not number more than ten or eleven in the Assembly, great as was their strength outside. Only a week before, when Lord Loudoun, the Chancellor of Scotland, visited the Assembly, he spoke of "a common objection that Anabaptists and Brownists have so great an influence, though confident that this is but an aspersion" (MS. Record). This committee was directed to report on the 3rd of October, but they were not ready till the 28th. There was then a succession of debates in the Assembly. Some light is thrown on all this dissension when we find Lord Maitland on the 31st writing from the Assembly to the Earl of Lothian, "The Church affairs are much retarded by the Independent party, who carry themselves far otherwise to us than they did when your Lordship was here; even those who were then active for us, do turn their cloak quite on the other shoulder" (Letters of Earls of Lothian and Ancrum, p. 176). Not till the 20th of November was this prologue to the Directory ready for Parliament. As the discussions went on, Dr Gouge had pleaded, "it was said in the beginning that this was so compiled that we might turn it into a prayer. Too much invention will

hinder devotion" (MS. Record). And others protested against prohibition of such a use of it. Gillespie said, "There is a middle way. That man who stirs up his own gifts doth better than he that useth set forms. Good to hold out what is the best" (Ibid.) "Sure I am," Baillie writes to his family, "the Directory had never passed the Assembly, if it had not been for the qualifications in the Preface." Neal thus sums up the results. "The Directory passed the Assembly with great unanimity, those who were for set forms of prayer resolving to confine themselves to the very words of the Directory, while others made use of them only as heads for their enlargement." Baillie, writing in the following year of the Independents, says, "How much they did cross that gracious and excellent work of the Directory for the three kingdoms, and when it was begun, how long they did retard it, and after it was brought to an end, though (through?) all the mountains of impediments which they did cast up in its way, how earnest they were by slight of hand to have put in its preface such phrases as might have altogether made frustrate the use of it, is well known to many" (Dissuasive, p. 116).

The concluding paragraph of the Preface shows how the materials for Prayer and Exhortation were meant to be used. It is left to each minister's sense of duty to see that whether he makes them his

own, or claims the right of expansion, contraction, rearrangement, or change, the book shall not become in his hands a hindrance to uniformity "in those things that contain the substance of the service and worship of God." When we examine the rubrics in which this liturgical material is embedded, we find that they are issued with various degrees of authority. They are evidently intended to be peremptory, "when they hold forth such things as are of divine institution," or where variations in practice would make any approach to uniformity impossible. In other cases they are no more than recommendations. In others, again, they are mere permissions. In most cases the language is sufficiently precise to show the force of each injunction. The obligation to a practice is not the same when it is called *necessary*, *requisite*, *expedient*, *convenient*, or *sufficient*, or when in one place the minister *is to* or *shall*, in another, *may* do such and such things.

There is printed among Gillespie's Notes a paper which seems to connect itself with the debates on the Preface. It is to be found among Wodrow's MSS., and had been copied by him from the original in Gillespie's hand. In the manuscript it stands exactly as follows:—

"*On the backside*—

Gloria Patri.
Saying the Creed.
Standing up at the reading of the Gospel.
Preaching on Christmas.
Funeral Sermons.
Churching of Women, &c.
The saying of the three Creeds, after reading of Scripture.
The people's responsals.

And on the foreside—

Concerning other customs or rites in the worship of God, formerly received in any of the Kingdoms, which, though not condemned in this Directory, have been, or apparently will be occasions of divisions and offences, as it is far from our intention that those or the like unnecessary burdens should be laid upon any or any compelled thereto, so we judge it most expedient that the practice and use of them be not continued, as well for the nearer uniformity betwixt the Churches of both Kingdoms, as for their greater peace and harmony within themselves, and their edifying one another in love. Wherein we would be so understood as not having the least thought to discredit or blame our worthy Reformers or others who have since practised them. Only we hold forth what we have learned from the rules of Christ and His

Apostles, that even those of the learned and godly who satisfy their own judgments concerning the lawfulness of those customs shall henceforth do well to abstain for the law of love, and for the bond of peace."

This document, as printed in 1846, had a slight alteration introduced which considerably modifies its meaning. The word *and* is put in the same line and type with *responsals*, which makes the long paragraph read continuously with the eight particulars heading the paper, and deal with *other* unnamed *customs or rites* in addition to those eight. But when the paper is printed as above and as in the manuscript, it is plain that the long paragraph is the document in its completeness, and the upper part merely an endorsement giving a list of the customs referred to within. The two first, the Gloria Patri and the Creed, are known to have been marked for suppression by the movement party in Scotland; the other six are Anglican usages, distasteful no doubt to a corresponding party in England.

Of the Assembling of the Congregation, and their behaviour in the Public Worship of God.

The clause concerning private meetings was first proposed by Mr Wilkinson as part of the section on preaching (MS. Record). But it was

afterwards inserted here, and the words forbidding salutations, &c., were added at the same time (Gillespie's Notes, p. 102; Act of Assembly, 1709, iv.) Some have supposed that the second paragraph forbids the offering of silent prayer before the service has begun. What is forbidden is "adoration," or bowing themselves towards one place or other — that is, prayer accompanied by gestures which seemed to recognise a more real presence of the Divine Being in one part of the building than in another. Baillie, speaking of the minister's "bowing in the pulpit" for private prayer before he began his duty, says, "there was nothing of it of the Directory." Obviously a general prohibition would have applied to him as to other worshippers. His doing so was one of the "three nocent ceremonies" objected to by the innovating party in Scotland, and they were encouraged by the English for this, as well as other reasons, "because of the late consequent abuse of it by the prelatical party to bow to the east and the altar" (Baillie, ii. 259). Though not mentioned in the Directory, it was forbidden by the supplementary Act of Assembly as a thing repugnant to English feeling, "though a lawful custom in this Kirk." Till then private prayer on entering church had been usual in Scottish congregations. But after this the people followed the example of their ministers, and laid it aside.

We have already seen that the Sunday service of the Directory represents two services—the reader's and minister's, which in Scotland had been combined ever since the Common Order was introduced. The minister was now required to conduct the whole service as remodelled. Whatever Englishmen may have done, the Scottish clergy almost from the first declined the reader's duties. They omitted the opening prayer and lessons of Scripture. Worship began with the psalm, which in the Directory is alluded to in a parenthesis as preceding the long prayer before the sermon. As a compensation for this, the Supplementary Act, or Act of Uniformity, passed by the Scottish Assembly on Feb. 7, 1645,[1] ordained that the service should begin half an hour earlier to provide time for the lecture which, under an assumed injunction of the Directory, they proposed to introduce. The new order, thus partly mutilated, partly expanded, completed the Scottish morning service, as it was to be heard till recently in St Giles's Church, when the Assembly was sitting.

The minister is appointed to begin by "solemn calling on them to the worshipping of the great name of God." This *prefacing*, which had been an early Gallican usage, was in accordance with the customs of both kingdoms, with the Anglican form beginning *Dearly beloved brethren*, with Cart-

[1] Appendix B.

wright's Directory (Neal, v., Appendix xv.), with the Common Order, and with the later use of Scotland, as described in Rutherford's Plea for Presbytery in 1642. "The pastor first prefaceth a little before the public worship to waken up the people's attention." The Preface has long disappeared from the Scottish service, except as far as it is represented by such words as "let us compose our minds," &c. An exposition of the psalm seems at an early period to have taken its place.

There is a significant silence as to the posture to be taken in prayer. In all the Reformed Churches, this was at first ruled more by custom than by statute. The French Discipline indeed, the favourite model of the Scots, had said, "that great irreverence which is found in divers persons who at public and private prayer do neither uncover their heads, nor bow their knees, shall be reformed" (chap. xi., canon 1). Yet even they, at the very time when the Westminster Assembly was sitting, refused a petition from Guyenne, that the usage in that province of humbling themselves on their knees to ask God's blessing as they entered the place of worship should be made imperative on all (Quick's Synodicon, ii. 466). The first book of Edward left the matter free, "as every man's devotion serveth." In a volume of Henderson's sermons lately published, he ends several of the prefaces with the words, "Let us now fall down,"

&c., and one sermon with "I would have all of you to bend your knees," &c. This reverent attitude seems to have passed into what Leighton in one of his charges describes as "their most indecent sitting at prayer." Later investigation has, it may be hoped, dispelled the opinion prevailing fifty years ago, that standing at prayer was an inheritance from the time of the Reformation. The subject was a favourite one with the pamphleteers of the Revolution age, and the general conclusions to which they lead us are that most people considered the attitude taken in prayer to be a matter indifferent, that kneeling, standing, and sitting were all to be seen, and that of the three postures standing was certainly not the most common. Where there is ambiguity in evidence as between kneeling and sitting, it may possibly be explained by the old Scottish phrase, *sitting on the knees*, which is often met with in books of the time, and is not yet obsolete. It is not an unfair generalisation from the facts to say that kneeling was the prevalent attitude of the sixteenth century, that sitting became that of the seventeenth, and standing of the eighteenth.

The MS. Record says that when Mr Marshall gave in the draft of the Directory, "All the prayers for the Lord's Day are drawn up into one body without any dividing of them, that if they do appear to be fit, the rest may be done suddenly, if re-

quired." The division was afterwards made in committee (Gillespie's Notes, p. 102). There must have been some difficulty in reconciling the practice of the two nations. Baillie says that the Puritans were accustomed to have one prayer before sermon. The Scots up to this time had two. The Independents, on the authority of 1 Tim. ii. 1, began their single prayer with "a large solemn prayer for the King and the Church," and wished to have this adopted (Baillie, Dissuasive, 118; Letters, ii. 123). The Moderate Puritans objected to the English Liturgy that it had no preparatory prayer for "assistance or acceptance." In Scotland, heretofore, the first and longer prayer of the minister's service was "for remission of sin, sanctification, and all things needful, joining also confession of sins and thanksgiving, with special relation to the hearers" (Government and Order, p. 16); the second for a blessing upon the preaching of the Word, while the prayer of General Intercession followed the sermon.

Of Public Reading of the Holy Scriptures.

In the Assembly's discussions on Church Government in November 1643, the question whether the reading of the Word is a pastoral function had been debated for several days. Some who held the

affirmative did so on the ground that it ought always to be read with exposition. When this section of the Directory, drawn up by Young, was presented in June, the discussion was revived. Ultimately the duty was limited to pastors, to teachers (or Doctors, that fourth order of which so much was made in the earlier Presbyterian Standards), and occasionally to probationers. The discussions on this point are not easily followed. On both sides there is some departure from their earlier principles and practice. In Scotland, as in the Reformed Churches abroad, it had been usual to have the preparatory worship conducted by lay persons of a lower status than the reader incumbents of the period of the Superintendents and those of the Reformation age in England (Cardwell's Documentary Annals, i. 302). Though in the North the reader's office was not properly an ecclesiastical one, the men who held it were to a great extent persons preparing for the ministry or ready for it. Thus, of thirteen readers whose names were reported in 1627 to the Synod of Fife, nine were Masters of Arts (Record, p. 105). In the Westminster Assembly, however, the English Presbyterians generally supported the view that those only should read who were entitled to preach, and might therefore expound what they read. M. de la March, of the French Church in London, stated that the reader's was "a distinct office from the

pastor's according to practice in Reformed Churches. The pastor expounds the Word and applies it; doctor expounds it, and not applies it; and then a reader, that neither expounds nor applies" (MS. Record). The Scots do not seem to have upheld this their national system, with the exception of Baillie. He, in his letter to his colleagues,[1] pleads that by abolishing the reader "we put down that exercise of public prayers in all our towns, we cast out all our readers as unlawful officers, we lay a very heavy burden on the most of our ministers, besides twice preaching, catechizing, baptizing, marrying, and holding a session, all which are very ordinary in most of our congregations; we will have him to pray, sing, read, both before and after noon." As to the Independents, Cox, writing in 1573 of some of those whose traditions they inherited, said, "They cannot endure the reading of the holy Scriptures in the Church" (Zurich Letters, i. 281). At the era of the Assembly, however, they seem to have allowed it, as a cover for lay preaching (Baillie's Dissuasive, 30, 118; Gangræna, 19; Gillespie's Miscellany Questions, p. 36, 1844). This is implied in a remark of Goodwin's, when the right was being limited to probationers, "you do in this determine the question not yet disputed [*i.e.*, argued] whether they may not preach that do not intend the

[1] Appendix E.

Ministry" (MS. Record). The result of the deliverance was that, as Baillie anticipated, the Scottish reader soon disappeared. The Common Prayers were disused almost at once. The reading of lessons from the desk as the people assembled continued till about a hundred years ago in a few cases where there were endowments provided for the purpose. Proclamation of banns is the only ecclesiastical function of this ancient official ever performed by his modern representative, and that is fast disappearing.

The words in the next paragraph, "those who intend the ministry," are to be understood only of probationers or expectants, those who have been declared to be qualified for the ministerial office so soon as they have a title for ordination. That this is the intended meaning is proved by George Gillespie in a later work of his own (Miscell. Quest., iii. 5), and by the Presbyterian authors of the "Ius Divinum Ministerii Evangelici" (p. 113). Both quote this very passage, which they had helped to formulate, as proof that in the words of the latter, "even probationers under the Presbyterian Government are not to preach, though but occasionally, and for a little while, without a licence and authority so to do, from them to whom Christ hath given this power to authorise men for such an employment." In the Assembly M. de la March showed that in permitting this they were going

further than the French Reformed, who "would not allow preaching without ordination, and that they revoked what was done by the Genevans in sending proposants to the cities about Geneva." At this very time their Supreme Court was sitting at Charenton, and took occasion to confirm the prohibitory decisions of earlier Synods "concerning proposants, who presume to get into the pulpits, and from thence to hold forth their propositions, which can be none other than an authoritative preaching unto the people, especially if it be on the usual days and hours of their public meetings" (Quick, ii. 466). Rutherford, at Westminster, says that "he would allow it to expectants and advocates their being allowed to preach even almost ordinarily," while Henderson says "there is a difference betwixt the preaching of a candidate and the pastor. The candidate doth not particularly apply."

The passage recommending more frequent reading of select parts of Scripture does not mean that these are to be substituted for one or other of the ordinary lessons. We learn from Gillespie that at the final review by the Committee on the 10th of June, there was inserted a direction "to read a portion of the Psalms before the Chapters," and the MS. Record speaks of a debate about the reading of the Psalms every day. Lightfoot says that the present vague form was substituted some days after,

and that had he been in his place he would have objected to the words "or such like." The words "chapter or psalm" immediately after show that the original intention was not lost sight of. The distinction suggests the unfitness of what is to be heard at times in Scotland since the reading of Scripture was restored—the choice of a psalm, generally a very short one, as first lesson. In the Directory for the use of those at sea, a portion of the Psalter precedes the lessons, showing how this passage in the book was generally understood in England.

On the next paragraph rests the sole authority for the lecture, which occupied so prominent a place in the later Scottish worship. Baillie tells us that it was already in use among the ministers of London. He was familiar at home with an expository discourse, though apparently not an admirer of it. But he objected to it as an addition to the ordinary sermon. The cautious permission given to the minister to expound the lesson if he thought proper, may have been intended to be a further safeguard against the lay expositions which the Independents favoured, but it is difficult to discover in it that general command which the Scottish Assembly of 1645 read into it. Yet it was so interpreted, and was enforced so strictly that the minister of Kirkcaldy was censured by his presbytery "for interponing the singing of the

psalm between the reading and the exponing of the chapter" (Presb. Record, Sept. 30, 1646).

The consistory record of the Scottish Church at Rotterdam, of which Petrie the historian was then minister, describes a congregational disagreement which rose this very year. It began with a proposal that a reader should be elected "who may be able to conceive prayers publicly and expone the Scriptures, and may be able to help in case of the minister's sickness." One day Mr Petrie "read a chapter, and did declare the general heads of it, and gathered some doctrines thereupon." The people were furious, and a disturbance followed. An elder spoke of the lecturing as "Brownism, contrary unto the Confession of Faith, &c., and therefore is unlawful," "a way to bring in errors and Papistry," "that fashion came out a stinking airt," "he means the English." The dispute was referred to the Westminster Assembly, who claimed Scottish authority for the practice, and said "that it is now appointed by the Synod of London to be a part of the uniformity of divine service in all the kirks of the three kingdoms." This forced interpretation of their own decree was so generally accepted in the North that the Assembly of 1694 spoke of lecturing as having been *introduced and established* by the Directory. It must be admitted that so long as it continued to be a fixed element of Scottish worship, the lecture did much to further

the ends for which the lessons of Scripture displaced by it were appointed.

The last paragraph of this section was an addition made by the House of Commons (Mitchell, Westminster Assembly, p. 217).

On Public Prayer before the Sermon.

The sections on Prayer gave rise to very little discussion. The whole subject was disposed of on the 28th of May, with short debates in June and November. In a debate on the pastoral office, Mr Young had proposed that the pastor should be bound to pray before he preached, "because of the tie for prayer in the pulpit that the bishop laid upon us." The words "the minister who is to preach" may have been introduced to carry out this proposal, or they may have pointed to the Independent custom of dividing the different parts of the service among different persons in the congregation, "one to pray, and another to preach, a third to prophesy, and a fourth to dismiss with a blessing" (Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 117). It was afterwards made a charge against the Protesters that they allowed elders and private persons to pray publicly when ministers were present (Answer to Protesters, p. 28). The Puritans were accustomed to object against the General Confession in the

English Liturgy that it did not acknowledge the doctrine of original sin, though the words *there is no health in us* seem to contain a statement of it sufficiently distinct in a form of words not meant to be dogmatic. A recognition of it was inserted in the beginning of this prayer.

When the division was made, the prayer of General Intercession was placed before the sermon and that of Thanksgiving after it. But as the Scottish custom had been to offer the prayer of Intercession after preaching, the last paragraph was added to allow this as an alternative arrangement. Baillie's Paper to his Colleagues shows how strongly the Scots felt on this point. At the present day the tendency in our Church seems to be to give up what he and his brethren succeeded in saving for us. It is one of those instances of random conformity to supposed Anglicanism which do so much to mar liturgical improvement among us. They who do so fail to notice that in the English service a prayer for the Sovereign, and after the sermon the comprehensive prayer for the Church Militant form part of that portion of the Communion Office which is read every Sunday whether there be a celebration or not. No doubt there are in the previous service other prayers to the same effect, but they are conditioned by the use of the litany, and they were not found in the daily services of the liturgy of Elizabeth, which the

Directory was meant to displace. In the present Evening Service there is no provision for a sermon, and when there is one, it is often introduced after the three Collects, and thus precedes the prayers for the Sovereign and clergy.

Of the Preaching of the Word.

This section was discussed on the 3rd of June and the four following days. Whitaker proposed to have no Directory for preaching, but he was defeated after a long argument, in which Rutherford took a leading part against him. The Rules of Ordination spoken of are those in the Form of Church Government agreed to by the Assembly, and usually printed among its standards.[1]

When the next paragraph came to be considered, there was, says the Record, "debate about that *text or argument*, because it gives liberty to preach without a text," which was a practice among the Independents (Dissuasive, p. 118). *Argument* was omitted. The Assembly at first directed "that sermons be made either upon some text of Scripture, or else upon a whole Psalm or chapter." The custom sanctioned in the end of the paragraph, of preaching continuously on some one book of Scripture, was then almost universal in Scotland,

[1] See Appendix F.

both in the congregation and at the Presbyterial Exercise.

There are many debates on the wording of the next paragraphs, some of them on points sufficiently minute. Thus Lightfoot records with satisfaction that he was successful in opposing the words "several parts of the text," so as to meet the possible case of a sermon preached on the word *Amen*. The whole of the directions on the construction of a sermon are founded on that mode of preaching by Doctrine, Reason, and Use, which Bishop Burnet says was the favourite method of the Scottish preachers after 1638. It did not long continue. Baillie, a few years after this, complains that Binning and Leighton had introduced "a new guise of preaching contemning the ordinary way of exponing and dividing a text, of raising doctrines and uses" (Letters, iii. 258). To satisfy objectors, the Assembly inserted the paragraph which begins "This method is not prescribed." The longest debate was on the propriety of using the dead languages in the pulpit. After two days' debate they agreed upon the guarded words, "abstaining also from an unprofitable use of unknown tongues." The last paragraph corresponds so closely with a section in the Form of Church Government as to show that it referred to the distinction, then thought so important, between the Pastor and the Teacher or Doctor. The Directory does not touch on the

length and number of sermons. The first subject was discussed and dropped; the other was a matter on which the practice of the Scottish Church had long been uniform. There were always at least two, that in the afternoon being often catechetical (Henderson's Government and Order). Kirkton says that before the Restoration every minister preached three times a-week, and lectured and catechized once. Under Episcopacy there continued to be two sermons on the Lord's Day (Fife Synod Records, p. 186: Morer). The regulations of 1705 anent the Visitation of Kirks require a lecture and sermon at morning service, the preaching of catechetic doctrine in the afternoon, besides a sermon on some day of the week. This law seems to have been generally obeyed. "There are nine hundred parishes in Scotland, and consequently eighteen hundred worships every Lord's Day" (Calder's Miscellany). The latest notice of the catechetical doctrine is in an Act of 1720, earnestly enjoining its observance.

Of Prayer after the Sermon.

Professor Mitchell thinks that the Prayer of Thanksgiving with which this begins may have been the work of Dr Reynolds, a member of the Assembly, afterwards Bishop of Norwich, to whom

also some attribute the General Thanksgiving in the Book of Common Prayer (Westminster Assembly, p. 21; Cardwell's Conferences, p. 372). The only matter in this part of the Directory which caused difference of opinion, was the use of the Lord's Prayer. But it was sanctioned "with little debate." In Cartwright's Directory it is used at the close of both prayers (Neal, v. xv.) It is not to be supposed that its use is here forbidden except at the end of the last prayer. The direction would originally stand at the end of the undivided body of prayer given in by the Committee, and, when the division took place, would remain attached to the last portion. The Scottish usage has not been uniform. In the Common Order it stood between the last prayer and the Creed. Henderson's sermons show that he used it at the end of the prayer before sermon. After Westminster, the extreme party in Scotland succeeded in having it suppressed, though not without opposition. In 1646 the parishioners of Ednam laid a complaint before their Presbytery that their minister, who was a hot Protester, did not use it. Sir Hugh Campbell of Cawder, who in the beginning of the next century strove long and unsuccessfully to have it revived, says in his little volume that the Assembly of 1649 was responsible for having it put down by a tacit agreement to cease repeating it. Under the Second Episcopacy it was repeated after the

last Prayer, but was cast out once more by the men of the Revolution.

The same fate befell the Conclusion, Doxology, or Gloria Patri, with which till now the Scots had always ended the metrical Psalm. There was nothing in the Directory requiring it to be given up, and Baillie says the English did not object to it. But the innovators in Scotland did their best to have it proscribed in the Assembly of 1645, as the minister's private prayer in the pulpit was. Calderwood fought hard in defence of it, crying out in the Assembly, as the tradition goes, "Let that alone, for I hope to sing it in glory." According to Gillespie it "was thought good to let desuetude abolish it." It was again heard at the Restoration, only to be put down at the Revolution as a corrupt practice savouring of Prelacy. The Church of Scotland has long ceased to object to this ancient ascription of praise to the Holy Trinity. For generations it has stood at the end of one of her authorised hymns.

The only discussion connected with the Benediction was on the question whether, when the Communion was being celebrated, it ought to be pronounced both after the ordinary service and after the Sacrament. It was debated at two sessions. The parenthesis in the last paragraph seems to imply that the Assembly thought a single benediction sufficient. Lightfoot, however, says

that they meant "to leave it indifferent, and the minister to pronounce a blessing before and after." The blessing of the people in the name of God was considered a function belonging exclusively to the ministerial office (Second Book of Discipline, Form of Church Government). Herle, one of the sub-committee who drafted the Directory, thus laid down in the debate the Presbyterian view. "Blessing is not prayer, for one is instead of God, and if not a prayer, then it conveys, and that by a promise, so that it can't be but a ministerial conveying act, conditional, if they walk so and so" (MS. Record). It has been the custom in the Scottish Church for ministers alone to use the words *be with you*. Licentiates are supposed not to bless but to pray, using the form *be with us*, and they are not expected to do it with uplifted hands in imitation of ministers. Pardovan speaks of an exception in the case of the blessing of the General Assembly by their Moderator, when he too says *be with us*, obviously as an acknowledgment that he is only *primus inter pares*. Warden, in his 'Treatise on Baptism' (p. 28), rebukes the irreverence of being *afoot* at the Benediction, implying apparently that in his time they received it either sitting or kneeling.

The Administration of the Sacrament of Baptism.

This section occupied the Assembly for twelve sessions. The caution against delay was at one time more definite. It required that the sacrament should be administered, at the latest, on the second Sunday after birth, which was the Scottish custom. Lest this might be misunderstood, and open the door to lay baptism in cases of emergency, the words were added which allow ministers only to baptize. In this they followed the corresponding rubric of the Common Order. Mr Seaman proposed to leave out "in any case," so as to allow lay baptism in times of persecution, but he had no support.

The debate on private baptism extended into a second day. After it was determined to require public baptism, an unsuccessful attempt was made to have reasons for it inserted. In the Scottish supplementary Act of 1645, a provision was added that public baptism must be administered after the sermon. This continued to be the custom under the restored Episcopacy (Morer, p. 62), as well as in later times. Henderson's Tract shows that the usage before Westminster had been to baptize at the close of the sermon, before the prayer of Thanksgiving and Intercession. Gillespie and his friends desired that the child should be baptized

at the place where the minister stood in preaching. This was in effect allowed by the prohibition of baptism at the church door. A proposal to remove all fonts had not been adopted. The Scottish custom of having the child presented by the father was incorporated in the Directory. Baillie says, "We have carried the parent's presenting of his child, and not their midwives, as was their universal custom." Morer describes the father as doing so at the end of the Episcopal period.

Godparents displacing the natural parents are forbidden by the words which lay the duty of sponsorship on the parent in the first instance, and admit a substitute only in the case of his necessary absence. This is in accordance with the doctrine that a child's title to baptism is its federal holiness in right of descent from those who are by profession under the covenant of grace. But this does not imply that the right can originate only in the generation immediately preceding. Knox had referred this question to Calvin, and had for answer that it might be derived from holy and pious ancestors, adding, "since God three hundred years ago or more has honoured them with His adoption, it is unjust that the subsequent impiety of parents should stop the course of heavenly grace." At the same time he admits the necessity of sponsorship, and anticipates the time when, with the progress of the Reform, parents would present

their own children, and be their *chief* sponsors (Knox's Works, vi. 96). This doctrine of the transmission of right from remoter generations was defended at considerable length by Rutherford on the one side (Paul's Plea for Presbytery, 164), and assailed by Boston on the other. The present law of the Church of Scotland is to be found in the Act of Assembly, 1712, v., which directs when and in what order another sponsor than the immediate parent may be admitted: first, a kinsman; failing him, a Christian friend; and in the case of children of unknown parentage, the office-bearers of the church.

The secondary sponsor, aiding the parent without setting him aside, had been recognised by the Church of Scotland. In the baptismal rubric of the Common Order, father and godfather both appear and respond together to the first question, "Do ye here present?" &c. In this they followed the French Discipline (xi. 7) and other foreign Churches. It is sometimes argued that these were no more than witnesses to the fact that the child had been baptized. Certainly that name was often applied to them, and, with its original meaning forgotten, has been continued to the present day. But how unmeaning would this use of it make the passage in Calderwood's History (iv. 1), when he tells how Brown, the Independent, came to Edinburgh and argued before the session "that witnesses

in baptism was not a thing indifferent, but simply evil. But he failed in the probation." At the Westminster Assembly, Bridge, another Independent, in the debate upon a baptismal profession of belief, said, "For that of Reformed Churches, it will bring in not only this, but witnesses." There is abundant evidence that godparent and witness were in our language equivalent terms. Thus in Massinger's 'Emperor of the East' (1631), Paulinus, when telling who were the two *godmothers* of the heroine, is asked "And who the masculine witness?" and replies, "At the new empress' suit, I had the honour" (iii. 1).

In the Directory, there is no mention of these supplementary sponsors, except in the case of the parents' necessary absence. But it is worthy of notice, how subordinate is the place assigned to the sponsor, whether parent or another, in the whole of this section. In prayer and exhortation, the child baptized is the prominent person. His retrospective claim to the ordinance in right of his descent is lightly touched on, the prospective pledge of his sponsor occupies a single line, while his own obligations and privileges are stated with great emphasis. And in the Confession and the two Catechisms, the parental sponsor, as transmitter of the right to baptism, is little more than alluded to; and as the giver of an educational pledge, is not acknowledged at all. When we compare the

proportions in which these various truths are set forth here and in our earlier Scottish standards with popular opinion and pulpit doctrine in our day, it is evident that the basis of belief as to this ordinance has been completely shifted. The prevalent opinion that the primary party to the baptismal covenant on the human side is not the baptized but the sponsor, is widely at variance with the words of the Directory exhortation, "Children by baptism are solemnly received into the bosom of the Visible Church, distinguished from the world and them that are without, and united with believers: and that all who are baptized in the name of Christ, do renounce, and by their baptism are bound to fight against, the devil, the world, and the flesh." The words of Gataker during the debate are strongly confirmatory of this view: "I make some question whether the father be a *fide jussor*. The father stands bound by the law of God to perform all those offices, whether present or absent. By virtue of the sacrament, the child indeed stands bound, but not the father. There is no restipulation on the father's side" (MS. Record). Equally inconsistent with the first part of this passage is another usage of speech, common not only among the people, but among ministers, by which *communicant* and *member of the Church* are made convertible terms. It is another of the characteristic notions of the Independents, transplanted to Scot-

land, and transmitted to us through the Protesters and their heirs. Baillie says of them, "they esteem not baptized infants to be members of their Church before they have entered into their covenant; till then they hold them from the Lord's Table, and all the acts of discipline, as people without the Church and not members of it" (Dissuasive, p. 120). The Dutch Baptismal office says, "Our children are sanctified in Christ, and therefore as members of His Church ought to be baptized."

The short exhortation to the parent is different from what was at first contemplated. The Scots, after the Eastern fashion, caused the sponsor to repeat the Creed. Baillie says, "The Belief in baptism was never said in England, and they would not undergo that yoke." The Anglican Liturgy required only assent to it, and in the Middleburg and Savoy Liturgies the Puritans required no more. "The Apostles' Creed the Brownists detest, as an old patchery of evil" (Dissuasive, 30). The Independents in the Assembly desired that there should be no profession of belief. The Scots insisted on it as common to the Reformed Churches, though Rutherford said "no intention to put a *jus divinum* upon it." The two first words the Editor misread in deciphering the MS. Record, and quoted as *we intend* in his reprint of 1868. When this point was carried in favour of a profession of belief, the next issues were whether the profession

should be made by question and answer, or by a select speech by the minister; then whether there should be one question or more, and about the Apostles' Creed. The questions which the committee had proposed were four: "Do you believe all the articles of faith contained in Scripture? That all men and this child are born in sin? That the blood and Spirit washeth away sin? Will you have therefore this child baptized?" After discussion it was "recommended that he make a profession of his faith by answering to these or the like questions: Dost thou believe in God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost? Dost thou hold thyself obliged to observe all that Christ hath commanded you? And will you endeavour so to do? Dost thou desire this child to be baptized into the faith and profession of Jesus Christ?" (Gillespie's Notes, p. 91). At the final revision in November an attempt was made to get rid of these queries, but after "much tugging" they were retained. Subsequently they disappeared, and there is nothing now to represent them but the words "requiring his solemn promise for the performance of his duty." Clarendon says, on the authority of Lord Pembroke, a member of the Assembly, that the Commons, after a debate, refused to have the Creed and Decalogue in the Directory. Some of the Scots had certainly done what they could to secure the use of the Creed at baptism, and it is

therefore a surprise to find what the researches of Professor Mitchell make clear, that it was through their influence that the four questions were struck out by the Parliament, and the few vague words "requiring," &c., substituted. It appears that this proposal originated with the General Assembly of Scotland at their meeting in February 1645, which accepted the Directory, and which Baillie and Gillespie attended. The alteration was submitted to Parliament through the Westminster Divines, and the printing of the Directory was delayed till it was inserted (Westminster Assembly, p. 219). Dr Mitchell's surmise is that, having got rid of the English questions, the Scots hoped, under cover of the vague words which took their place, to "be at liberty to retain the practice sanctioned by their own Book of Common Order and various Acts of Assembly of exacting a fuller profession of faith." If the intention was to save the Creed, it utterly failed, for through the growing power of the party of innovation it shared the fate of the Lord's Prayer, Doxology, and other distinctive features of the national worship. Though it disappeared for centuries both from the Lord's Day service and the Baptismal Office of Scotland, it remained as one of the Westminster standards. It is much to be regretted that what professed to be authorised editions of the Shorter Catechism have so often been allowed to omit both the Creed and the note

defining its authority, which are as much parts of the text as any question and answer in the book. Henderson's 'Government and Order' shows that in his time the prayer was said at the commencement of the baptismal service. The Directory places it immediately before the administration, restoring it to the place which it had in the Common Order. Readers are apt to overlook the fact that the rubric not only enjoins a prayer for the divine blessing on the sacramental element and rite, but implies that as in the other Sacrament the words of Institution (presumably St Matt. xxviii. 19) shall either be repeated before the prayer or incorporated in it, as in the English Office. Forbes of Corse says that in Scotland the sponsor knelt at the Baptismal Prayer (Irenicon, i. 372). Gillespie, writing in 1642, accepts the fact, though he controverts the inference drawn from it (English Popish Ceremonies, iv. 20). Morer found two prayers used in baptism under Episcopacy, one for present blessing, between the exhortation and vows which he describes as "some questions concerning the Creed," another before the baptism for future help. He speaks of the whole service as a further proof that "the distinction of Churchman and Presbyterian is barely nominal and impertinent in this country." Wodrow records as an evidence of the lowering of belief which was going on in his time among Irish Presbyterians—"that Mr Kil-

patrick and others, in their baptizing of children, do not pray for a blessing upon the element or sign; that they allow no consecration in baptism" (Analecta, ii. 351).

The mode of administration was discussed at some length. All admitted the validity of sprinkling. But the original draft declared that it was agreeable to the institution of Christ, which was objected to by some. By a majority of one, it was resolved to say only "the minister shall take water and sprinkle or pour it," &c. On a later day they accepted the present words, expressing a preference for pouring or sprinkling, but not forbidding dipping. The words "without adding any other ceremony" doubtless refer to signing with the cross, which, in the eyes both of the Puritans and Scots, was one of the most objectionable requirements in the English Liturgy. Coleman proposed to fix the number of sprinklings, but he met with no support. Probably he had in his mind the threefold sprinkling of the Dutch Reformed, founded on the trine immersion of the primitive Church. The book of the Discipline of the Dutch Churches in England, published in 1645, makes it optional to sprinkle once or thrice.

Dr Hammond objects to the want of a service for the Churching of Women. One was drawn up by the Assembly's directions, and was discussed, but it was ultimately laid aside. It has never been

known in Scotland as a distinct service, but the post-baptismal prayer usually contains a thanksgiving in behalf of the mother.

Of the Celebration of the Communion.

This section gave rise to longer and warmer discussion than any other part of the Directory. Of seventy-five sittings eighteen were given to it alone. The differences of opinion, however, had more to do with ceremonial than with doctrine. The keenest were between the Scots and the Independents. When the question of the frequency of Communion was before the committee, it was proposed to require at least four celebrations a year, according to the letter of the French Discipline (xii. 16) and the First Scottish Book of Discipline. This was opposed by Gillespie, as an attempt to regulate what Scripture had not decided. Ultimately the paragraph was passed in the present vague terms. Gillespie knew that Scottish opinion favoured less frequent celebration than the statutes of the Church enjoined. After Westminster the evil increased. From that time to the Restoration there were in Glasgow only six Communions. St Andrews and Edinburgh were without it for six years in succession, and Stirling, under James Guthrie, for nine. Under Episcopacy the same

irregularity continued. In Glasgow there were only two Communions between the Restoration and the Revolution. After that there was legislation, but no serious endeavour to enforce it. Then, and for long afterwards, the popular feeling was that the Communion, like the Passover, ought to be an annual feast, though, with some inconsistency, they would not hear of the anniversary being observed at its own proper date. In 1215, the Fourth Council of Lateran had passed the celebrated canon which required all persons who had come to years of discretion to confess and communicate at least once a year, and that at Easter. When the Reformation came this extreme case had been adopted, as the rule, by a majority of the people. Under the new order of things the feast of Easter was suppressed; but the Annual Communion, the Holy Week, the preparatory fast, the examination of the whole people as to their spiritual fitness for the sacrament, were all continued, or were revived at a later period without any thought of the source whence the suggestions came. Notwithstanding the undoubted usage of the primitive Church, the recommendation of quarterly Communion by their French exemplar and the Book of Discipline, of monthly in the Genevan Book and Common Order, of frequent celebration by the Directory, strengthened by Acts of Assembly and the appeals of such men as Willison and Dr Erskine, to say nothing of the

oft-quoted *dictum* of Calvin, "consuetudo quæ semel quotannis communicare jubet, certissimum est diaboli inventum" (Institutes, iv. xvii. 46), annual Communions kept their place in the great majority of Scottish parishes, and even yet are not everywhere discontinued. The provision in the Directory for having the sacrament at morning service may have been aimed at certain newly gathered churches—probably Independent—which were reported to the committee as having it every Sunday afternoon.

The subject of the fitness of communicants had caused much discord when the Assembly were discussing Church Government. The provision introduced here was at first much longer and more definite (Gillespie's Notes, p. 102). We may surmise that it was reduced to its present dimensions by Parliament, who were very jealous of any legislation on this point except their own, as they showed next year when preparing their Ordinance for suspension from the Lord's Supper. The language of the corresponding passage in the exhortation is less strict than that of the Common Order. Lightfoot says that it raised a sad dispute in the Assembly. Yet, even as it stands, it retains more of the Scottish principle of *fencing* the Lord's Table than the exhortation of the Savoy Liturgy. Hitherto in Scotland the whole congregation had been examined as to their fitness before each Com-

munion, and the supplementary Act of 1645 provided for the continuance of this practice, but it has long been abandoned. The Act 1706, xi., though providing specially for the examination of catechumens for their first Communion, maintains the theory of a congregational examination. The Act 1727, viii., enjoins the observance of the Act 1645, particularly in regard to this point.

The next paragraph requires one week-day service, except where the Communion is so frequent as to make notice and preparatory worship unnecessary. Such services were not unknown in England. One of the charges brought in Parliament against Bishop Wren of Norwich was, that he forbade preparation sermons two or three days before the Communion. The Act of Assembly, 1645, made imperative the Saturday service, which had long been a Scottish usage (Lee's History, i. 393, 396; Government and Order: Rutherford's Plea, 316). The sacramental fast three or four days before the ordinance, with which we have been so familiar, had not yet been introduced. Wodrow, in making his extracts from the Glasgow Session Record, does not seem to have come on any instance before 1655. There were of course the week-day sermons and daily prayers in all Scottish towns, at every season of the year. But after the secession of the Protesters a new and elaborate system of services was introduced by them, fully described by Burnet

and others. Having at their command only a certain number of the parish churches, they celebrated the sacrament not only for their own followers in the vicinity, but for all of their way of thinking who were within travelling distance. The result is thus described in a pamphlet of 1657: "Our dissenting brethren have taken up a new and irregular way. To omit their way of admitting persons who come from other congregations, they do not now usually celebrate that ordinance, but they have a great many ministers gathered unto it—six and seven, and sometimes double or more—whose congregations most part are left destitute of preaching that day; great confluences from all the country, and many congregations about are gathered at them; and on every day of their meeting (which are Saturday, the Lord's Day, and Monday) many of these ministers do preach successively one after another: so that three or four, and sometimes more, do preach at their preparation, and as many on the Monday following. And on the Lord's Day, sometimes three or four preach before they go to the Action: besides those who preach to the multitude of people that cannot be contained in the church" (True Representation, &c., p. 35). Much fervid feeling was awakened on these occasions, and the people became familiar with the system of assembling the whole ministry and population of a district for prolonged evan-

gelistic services at any church where the Communion was being administered. The new days kept their place under Episcopacy (Lee's History, i. 402), and after the Revolution the system was perpetuated. The open-air preaching became dearer from recollections of field-meetings in the days of persecution. Their union with the Sacrament gave all these services a deeper solemnity than might otherwise have attended them, but this was too dearly purchased by the rarity of the Holy Communion. Acts of Assembly in 1701 and 1724 tried in vain to enforce the provisions of 1645, which forbade the shutting of neighbouring churches on the Communion day. Wodrow, speaking in 1709 of "those fair-days of the Gospel," mentions cases as exceptional in which there was either no open-air preaching, or it did not begin till the Action sermon was ended. "There was also some speech about the presence of non-communicants at the time of the sacrament; and Mr Henderson urged against the exclusion of those that desired conscientiously to behold the thing" (Lightfoot). No decision is given.

The most obstinate contest was over the words, "sit about it, or at it." The customs of England and Scotland were here altogether at variance. Hitherto in England the ordinary usage had been to consecrate the elements at a small table, so placed in the church that all might see and hear.

From this they were taken by the minister, and given to the communicants in their pews. The older fashion of having the holy table at the eastern wall, and bringing the people to the rails, had hardly been revived when the civil troubles began. The Scottish table, on the other hand, was intended for the communicants as well as for the elements. It was made as long as the size of the church would allow, the people sitting along both sides. The Scots believed that only in this way could the true significance of the Sacrament be preserved. They would not kneel in the act of reception, from a fear that the attitude might seem to acknowledge the doctrine of a material presence. Of the other modes used in the Reformed Churches—standing, passing, and sitting—they preferred the last, because it best reminded them that they were Christ's guests, bidden to His Supper. They objected to an altar-table, as suggestive of sacrifice, "the Lord's Supper being no sacrifice, but *epulum ex oblatis*, a feast upon the body and blood of Christ offered upon the cross for us" (Gillespie, Misc. Questions, xviii.) Yet they would not dispense with a table, because they believed the Sacrament to be not only a commemorative type, but an ordinance wherein, in the words of their National Confession, "the faithful, in the right use of the Lord's Table, do so eat the body, and drink the blood of the Lord Jesus, that He

remaineth in them, and they in Him." As it was usually impossible to receive all the communicants in a congregation at once, they admitted them either on consecutive Sundays, or in successive companies at the same service, other tables being set side by side when the multitude of communicants made this necessary. Out of these conflicting practices, questions rose regarding the posture and the place of communicating. On the first, the Scots had already had many contests, but with the Anglicans, not the Puritans. The variance at Westminster did not go beyond this, that while the Scots would make sitting imperative, the Englishmen were disposed to leave it indifferent. Many of them had no scruples as to kneeling. Many would have preferred the continental fashion of standing, which was afterwards allowed in the Savoy Liturgy, along with kneeling or sitting as alternatives. However, as Baillie tells us, "they were content of sitting, though not as a right institute," and they accepted the Scottish usage, thus described in the Assembly by Henderson: "The minister comes, reads the words of Institution, and prays standing, and the people either sit or kneel at prayer-time indifferently, but are sure to sit in the act of receiving." Cheynell, a prominent member of the Assembly, in a controversy with Hammond, referring to his View of the New Directory, says, "Show me where the Directory

doth enjoin all communicants to sit in the act of receiving," and Hammond rejoins that he never said it did (pp. 66, 113).

But the question of place was not so easily settled. Baillie writes, "to come out of their pews to a table, they deny the necessity of it: we affirm it necessare, and will stand to it." All were willing to agree to a table, and even that as many as it would admit should receive at it. But the Independents insisted that all should communicate at once, and the other Puritans had an open mind on the subject. The point at issue seems to have narrowed itself to this. Where there could not be both Communion at a table, and simultaneous Communion, which was to be retained? The dispute began in the Committee, and was continued with much heat in the Assembly, particularly in one day's discussion, the violence of which is noticed both by Baillie and Lightfoot. Henderson said, "We sent from the Church of Scotland are all of one mind on this point. We can hardly part from it,—nay, I may add we may not possibly part from it." At last the matter had to be referred to Scotland for advice. In November the words passed in their present alternative form, "about or at" a table. But this ambiguous deliverance did not satisfy the Scots, and an explanatory clause was inserted in the Act authorising the Directory. The result was that each nation adhered to its

own custom. The Scots received *at* a table, and the Puritans *about* it, in their pews. In an unlikely quarter, we find a survival of the custom, dating from that, if not from an earlier day. Goulburn, in his Life of Dean Burgon, speaks of "those quiet Holy Communion services in the chancel of St Mary's, where, according to old custom, we did not leave our seats, but the fair linen cloths were placed all round the chancel over the broad book-desks. He would come down, and as he administered," &c. (ii. 116).

Undoubtedly the use of a table to receive both the elements and the communicants had much to recommend it. No other mode of celebration so well recalls the circumstances of the Last Supper, and it must have been an aid to faith to have the Sacrament associated in the mind with a part of the church not used for any other act of worship. Our old usage with all its significances might have been continued to this day, but for the later fashion of delivering two long exhortations at every table service. Palmer at Westminster said, "In the French Church at Canterbury, twelve hundred communicants receive it thus. . . . We who have gratified one another for satisfaction of particular brethren, ought to give satisfaction to the Church of Scotland." Any one who has seen the present and no doubt traditional form and place of the holy table in the crypt at Canterbury, will under-

stand that such a multitude could not be admitted to the Sacrament except by their coming in many small companies, as English congregations come to the chancel rails, and remaining only during the time necessary for communicating. Earlier in the same debate Henderson had said, "the Church of France, when it is in London, it sits." The writer can remember seeing in their old church at St Martin's-le-Grand, now demolished, the Communion table, capable of holding not more than the apostolic number. With the double table addresses of Scotland, it would have been impossible to receive at separate table services the large congregation which worshipped there when Henderson spoke. But the difficulty disappears when we read the description given by their Superintendent, John à Lasco, of their Communion as it was administered there in 1555. The table filled on three sides, the *Ecclesiastes* in the middle, with the fourth side left open, that the service might be visible from the body of the church, was an exact reproduction of the scene in Da Vinci's great picture. À Lasco tells how his people came to sit, to receive, to arise and depart, one of the ministers reading the 6th chapter of St John (Opera, ii. 162) or other Scripture, as they gave place to new guests.

We learn from Lightfoot that there was some question about the minister's coming to the table. The MS. Record also mentions a debate about

"the minister's still keeping his place at the table," after the consecration, where the words are now simply "being at the table." As some of the extreme Independents preferred to consecrate in the pulpit (Baillie's Dissuasive, p. 121), it is likely that these difficulties came from that quarter. The following were the original words of the Directory in this place. "The other officers attending that service, the minister is to begin," &c. Lightfoot continues: "The phrase *attending that service* was thought too ambiguous; and a main scruple was moved, whether the ruling elders might administer the sacrament; and it was thought no, but they are to place the people, to see to their orderliness, and to bring up the elements from the lower end of the table to the higher, where the minister is, when one company hath received; and so it was concluded in this term, *attending the present service*." At some later stage, however, the passage was struck out. The following words do not mean that the prayer must go before the words of Institution, for the last words of the paragraph show that both word and prayer are included under *sanctify*. This point was strongly insisted on by Gillespie in his 'English Popish Ceremonies,' as a protest against the Roman doctrine that the force of the consecration is in the words, *This is My body*. This paragraph is a summary of what those that follow set forth in detail. The intimate con-

nection between the word and prayer require that both should be spoken at the table, according to the use of Scotland (Henderson's Government and Order). The words *sanctifying and blessing* were chosen after a long discussion, in which the terms *sanctification*, *consecrating*, and *setting apart* were proposed in succession. The prayer itself is in three parts—first the Eucharistic Thanksgiving, then a Profession of Belief, and last the Prayer of Invocation, so prominent in the primitive liturgies. The Independents strove hard to obtain some sanction for what Baillie calls "their two short graces," or double consecration of the elements, such as was afterwards allowed in the Savoy Liturgy. They made much of the words of the first two Evangelists. It may have been to allow them the option of reading the words of Institution from those Gospels that the Directory does not insist on the use of St Paul's formula, "received of the Lord." This last has always been that read in Scotland, from the days of the Common Order and the First Book of Discipline, which appeals to "Christ's action, and to the perfect practice, as we read in St Paul."

The Directory contains no warrant for our table addresses, though the minister may say a few words after all have communicated. In Scotland they were coming into use about this time. The Common Order had not enjoined them, nor the 'Altare

Damascenum' in 1623 noticed them. Henderson, in his 'Government and Order,' describing the usage in 1641, shows that the minister at the close of the consecration prayer at once gave the elements to those who were at the table. Thereafter he spoke words of counsel to those who were in the act of communicating, but only as an alternative to the old Scottish custom of having the history of the Passion read, and that only between the giving of the cup to the first communicant and the receiving of it by the last. Rutherford's Plea (p. 317), in 1642, also limits any exhortation to the time of reception. The French Reformed, like the Directory, required that there should be no exhortations or thanksgivings "till that the elements have been distributed among the communicants of every table" (Quick, i. 327). The innovation of discoursing at the table apart from the administration had probably by this time made some progress, for the Act of 1645 both forbids the reading of Scripture, and allows a short exhortation before each company receives the Sacrament, as the word *thereafter* implies. Perhaps the addresses of this kind published with Henderson's Sermons were written after Westminster in uniformity with this new mode. The second address at each table must have been of later origin. Sage, after the Revolution, when descanting on the "indeficient sermoning" of the Scottish Communion, would

have been only too glad to add this to the number; but he does not speak of it. Pardovan, too, is silent regarding it. As time went on, the numerous table addresses, in combination with the multiplied week-day services, taught the people to subordinate the sacramental rite to the ordinance of teaching, and, with the instinctive directness of popular speech, to describe the Communion as the Preachings.

The words of administration were at first absolutely prescribed, but the formula is not preserved. The Record mentions a debate "about the words in the giving of the Sacrament, whether the form stand, or say in such like words." Ultimately the form was fixed as to one element. As to the other, some latitude of phrase was allowed, but it was limited to the parallel passages of Scripture. The Common Order prescribed no form; but that some such words were used is evident from the First Book of Discipline, which says, "that commandment ought to be given that the bread should be taken and eaten, and that all should likewise drink of the cup of wine, with declaration what both the one and the other is, we suppose no godly man will doubt." The 'Altare Damascenum' says that the words then used were, "Our Lord, on that night on which He was betrayed, took bread and gave thanks, as we have now done, and brake it, as I also now break, and gave it, saying," &c. Gillespie, in his 'English Popish

Ceremonies' (p. 351), gives the same form, with this variation, "as we also give thanks to God who gave His Son to die for us . . . who gave His Son to shed His blood for us." Henderson gives as the form used in 1641: "Take ye, eat ye; this is the Body of the Lord, which is broken for you: do it in remembrance of Him. This Cup is the New Testament in the Blood of the Lord Jesus, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins; drink ye all of it, for as often as ye do eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." The Savoy form is the same, omitting the closing words, "for as often," &c. Of all these forms, the oldest, that of Calderwood, most closely represents the present Scottish use.

The Scots considered the breaking of the bread not *before* or *at*, but *after* consecration an important part of the sacramental action. To this no opposition was made in the Assembly. Indeed, the Savoy Liturgy shows that the moderate Puritans were disposed to go further, and, following an ancient use, to make it a distinct part of the service with appropriate words. Another form which the Scots thought important was the distribution of the elements from hand to hand among the communicants. After some discussion on minor points "the great query was, whether, if one communicant take up one piece of bread, and break off a piece for himself, whether he must lay the rest in the

dish again, or give it to his next fellow." The passage was, as in other cases, so worded as to leave the matter open. The Scottish Assembly made very distinct the sense in which they meant it to be taken both in the Act authorising the Directory and the Act supplementary. As to the elements themselves, two provincial usages were kept up in Scotland till a much later period. In the parishes along the Solway the Communion was celebrated not with ordinary bread but with cakes prepared for the purpose. The custom seems to have been carried across the Atlantic. Hodge, in his work on the Westminster Confession, speaks of the use of "sweet cake in many of our old churches" (p. 358). And in Aberdeenshire the mixed cup was long retained. Wodrow heard of it in 1731. Down to the present day it continues to be used in some of the older Presbyterian congregations of Ireland. If their earlier history were known, a connection might be traced with a fact recorded in Brereton's Travels (p. 104), that about 1634 ten thousand Aberdonians sailed from Irvine to settle in Ulster. John Sharpe, who was during the sitting of the Assembly Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh, but who in earlier days had been one of the Blackness prisoners and banished for many years, speaks in his 'Cursus Theologicus' of unleavened bread and the mixed cup as matters indifferent in opposition to the Roman opinion that

they were essential (pp. 1388, 1408). The MS. Record shows that there was some debate about the minister giving the Sacrament to himself, and the rubric is left ambiguous. Henderson's Tract says that he was the first to partake. Pardovan says that he might do so when he had not the opportunity of receiving the elements at the hands of another minister at a later table. We find from Baillie's letter to his colleagues[1] that there was in this part of the Directory a clause "discharging all private prayer before and after the participation, . . . the ordinare practice of the most, if not all pastors and people I am acquaint with, . . . which to the most part of our Church are taken for lawful and laudable customs." His protest seems to have been successful. There was also at first in the Directory a regulation that some psalm—as the 22nd or 103rd—should be sung as they left the table. This custom with the same psalms indicated is spoken of in the 'Government and Order.' The clause, like everything else which implied a succession of tables, was removed, but was inserted in the Supplementary Act of the Scottish Assembly.

At first it was appointed that "the minister, after Sacrament, shall go into the pulpit and give an admonition." But the change of places was "much spoken against," and the present brief rubric was

[1] Appendix E.

afterwards substituted. The 'Government and Order' describes the minister as going to the pulpit and, after a "short speech tending to thanksgiving," giving thanks and praying as on other Sabbaths. The custom of adding the ordinary prayer of General Intercession to the sacramental prayer of General Thanksgiving was continued in Scotland, and supplied a deficiency in the Directory for Communion, which nowhere provides for prayer in behalf of the whole Church of Christ.

The last paragraph may be supposed to refer to the Anglican offertory. An offering for the poor has usually been an accompaniment of the Scottish Communion Service. Before Westminster it was made at the table. This was forbidden by the Assembly of 1649 (Lamont's Diary, p. 15). The previous Assembly had already forbidden collections in the middle of the service on ordinary Sundays, a custom continued to this day in Holland. The Directory says nothing of a second service on the evening of the Communion day; but the Supplementary Act requires a sermon of thanksgiving at that time. This and the Saturday preparation were the only additional services which had statutory authority in the Church of Scotland.

With this section the first and more important part of the Directory ends. As soon as it was finished the Preface was added, and the whole as completed up to this point was submitted to Par-

liament. The later sections were taken up at intervals during the next two months.

Of the Sanctification of the Lord's Day.

Lightfoot records in May that the business about the Sabbath and the Directory for prayer was passed, but he probably means the ordinary Sunday service. In August the second Committee was ordered to prepare a Directory for the Sabbath Day, but it did not come up for discussion till November. After a long debate it was agreed that the title should be "For the Sanctifying of the Lord's Day, the Christian Sabbath," but the last three words were afterwards struck out, on the ground that they were in the body of the section. In the previous January there had been a discussion on a motion that in a letter to foreign churches, *Lord's Day* should be changed into *Sabbath*. A question was now started whether discipline ought to be exercised on the Lord's Day. This was left to be decided in the Directory on Discipline, which, however, does not touch on it. It was the ordinary custom in Scotland. The prohibition first of worldly words and then of worldly thoughts were subsequent additions. The words "that there be no feasting on the Sabbath" were extended into the present third paragraph.

Of the Solemnisation of Marriage.

This section was brought up in November and passed after six days' debate. There was much opposition to the first paragraph. Goodwin and his friends held marriage to be a civil contract in which the minister acts only as the magistrate's delegate. The Scots and many of the English took higher ground, but the discussions are not very intelligible. Henderson had said in his Tract that marriage ought to be before the congregation with instruction, "blessing by the minister, and with the prayers of the Church." He now moved "that something might be said concerning espousals or contracts," but his proposal was not adopted. His wish may have been to have as in primitive times, and as Cartwright's Directory enjoins, two services—one of Espousals and one of Nuptials. Contract is implied in proclamations, which the Common Order calls "publishing of banns, or contract." In Scotland it was long the custom to require the consignation of a sum of money by two sureties, as a guarantee that the persons proclaimed should marry within forty days. There is a memorandum in the Printed Record that "something be prepared for the Assembly concerning the degrees of consanguinity and affinity prohibited" (p. 11). The subject was afterwards dealt with in the 24th

chapter of the Confession. There was a debate, "What remedy children should have if their parents be unreasonable, and what parents, if children match without their consent?" but these delicate questions were left to the wisdom of Parliament.

It was with some difficulty that private marriages were prohibited. The passage fixing the place at which the ceremony was to be performed was made more stringent at the last moment by Parliament at the request of the Scottish Assembly. It stood at first "in the place of the public meeting of the congregation, in some church or chapel," and was changed into the present form, "the place appointed by authority for public worship," so as to exclude places of worship not acknowledged by the then ruling powers (Mitchell's Westminster Assembly, 219).

The Record (Printed Minutes, p. 8) implies that the original proposal was that marriages should be solemnised between eight o'clock and twelve. This was objected to, and among others by Gillespie, who said that it would make a great debate, because the Papists gave as a reason that Mass was before twelve. Mr Ley proposed to limit the time to daylight. The words allowing marriages at any time of the year may be taken as a protest against the canon which forbade their being celebrated in Advent or Lent. Marriage on the Lord's Day is discouraged. At the Reformation it

had been recommended in both countries, though other days were allowed by the broad principle that it should be both in the place and time of divine service. Afterwards week-days were preferred. Sunday marriages were forbidden in Glasgow in 1641 and in Edinburgh in 1643, not as sinful in themselves, but because needless work was caused in preparing a feast. Baillie's 'Paper to his Colleagues' includes marrying among the ordinary duties of Scottish ministers on the Lord's Day. Morer says they were celebrated indifferently on any day of the week. On the whole, the wise advice of the Directory has been followed.

The declarations out of the Scripture are not specified. It is known that any allusions to marriage as instituted in Paradise and as showing forth the mystical union of Christ and His Church, such as are embodied in the opening exhortations of the Common Order and Common Prayer, would have been distasteful to the Puritans, who feared that they might seem to favour the opinion that marriage is a Sacrament (Savoy Exception). The vows are to be spoken by the parties themselves. For their precise form we are probably indebted to Henderson, who, when Marshall gave in the Committee's report, proposed that there should be "something expressed . . . as in baptism that of the form the words be not altered, so for the words of marriage." Scotland has generally adhered to her older way.

The vows are repeated by the minister, as in the Common Order, and accepted by words or a sign of assent. The phrase "without any further ceremony" refers to the use of the ring, to which the Scots were always opposed, objecting to its pagan origin and Roman use. Their scruples may seem to us as superfluous as the ceremony appeared to them. But this has to be said for them, that if they had taken a lower view of marriage, they would not have objected to the ring. "Hunc ritum non damnaremus, si fœdera nuptialia civili modo celebrarentur" (Altare Damasc., 870). Morer says that he found the vows followed not by a prayer but by a short harangue. This was in conformity with the Common Order.

Concerning Visitation of the Sick.

It was not at first intended to have a section on this subject, but in the debate on Burial a wish was expressed that the Committee should prepare one. It was given in and discussed on the 11th of December. There was further discussion on the 16th, but the allusions are not easily connected with the text. Mr Tuckney moved to add something about the sacrament. Later in the day there is "an addition concerning the sacrament to the Directory of visitation of the sick. Resolved.

Nothing added to the Directory for visitation concerning sacrament" (Printed Record, p. 20). Perhaps this and a similar decision at the previous session to waive the Churching of Women are instances of what Baillie praises as "the wise course taken in the Directory of passing by, and so leaving free" (Paper to his Colleagues). Nothing is said of public prayers for individual sick persons, which might have been expected in a Directory for public worship, and which till lately were continually asked for in Scotland.

Concerning Burial of the Dead.

This section occupied the Assembly for six days. Some would have thrown it out altogether. Many of the Puritans had long held that in Cartwright's words, "the care of burying the dead does not belong more to the ministerial office than to the rest of the Church." They even suggested that some warrant for the minister's absence was to be found in Leviticus xxi. 1-11. They disapproved of burying in churchyards and the wearing of mourning, "which, if it be not hypocritical, yet it is superstitious and heathenish" (Whitgift, iii. 362). They complained of burying the dead as an additional burden laid on ministers, and several members of the Assembly echoed this grievance. Rutherford

said that he saw no more occasion for an act of worship at a man's leaving the world than at his entering it, to which Whitaker replied, that presently after birth he was brought to baptism. The discussions turned on the questions what should be done before, at, and after the interment. On the first there seems to have been no difference of opinion. It is enacted that neither in the house nor on the way to the grave should any religious office be performed. The praying beside the corpse was forbidden at Lightfoot's suggestion. Singing psalms at funerals was one of the things forbidden to the Reformed in the Netherlands by the Spanish edicts of 1567. Wheatley says that in his time it continued to be the custom all the way from the house to the churchyard gate. At first sight it seems as if service at the grave had also been prohibited as it was in the French Discipline, "that all superstition may be avoided" (Quick, i. 24). But Lightfoot says that a proposal that something might be said at the very time of interment was passed over in silence, "and so the minister left something to his liberty. . . . Dr Temple moved again, Whether a minister, at putting the body in the ground, may not say *We commit the body to the ground*, &c. And it was conceived by the Assembly that he might, and the words *without any ceremony more*, do not tie him up from this." This, though not an obvious, is a possible reading of the passage.

A ceremony, we may assume, means not a form of words, but such an action as the signing of the cross in baptism, the use of the ring in marriage, or the sprinkling of earth as the words of committal are spoken. The words are not prayer, could not well be sung, and need not be read, and so the letter of the statute would be obeyed. But without Lightfoot's hint no ordinary reader would so interpret it. The greatest contest was on the question whether there might be a funeral sermon after the interment. On this the Scots and English divines were directly opposed to each other. Baillie says: "Our difference about funeral sermons seems irreconcilable: as it has been here and everywhere preached, it is nothing but an abuse of preaching to serve the humours of rich people only for a reward; our Church expressly has discharged them on many good reasons; it's here a good part of the minister's livelihood, therefore they will not quit it." His allusion was probably to the First Book of Discipline, which anticipated that they would unduly occupy the time of ministers, "or else they shall have respect of persons, preaching at the burials of the rich and honourable, but keeping silence when the poor and despised departeth." Funeral sermons had a modified sanction in the Common Order, following the example of Geneva. In England, Cartwright had opposed them, speaking of "the abuse of those which, having otherwise

to live on of the Church, take nobles for every such sermon, and sometimes a mourning gown." But by the time of the Westminster Assembly we find Lightfoot twice accounting for his absence by saying that he had to preach funeral sermons, and the whole body of the divines, the Scots excepted, attending one in honour of Pym. Lightfoot says that the mind of the Assembly was that the words as they stand allow funeral sermons. This old controversy was revived for a moment in Scotland at the death of the Princess Charlotte, when Dr Andrew Thomson refused to preach on the day of her funeral. An interesting paper in defence of him is to be found among Dr M'Crie's works.

In Scotland the prohibition of religious services at funerals was read in its more obvious sense. In 1661, Ray, the naturalist, says that the people went to the grave with the bell before them, "where there was nothing said, but only the corpse laid in"; Morer, a generation later, that there was no minister present, herbs and flowers were scattered on the mortcloth, and women followed in the rear. The dead-bell, still preserved in many manses as a clerical heirloom, was rung by the beadle as he went round the parish to announce each death, and again to summon all to the funeral. It was not till a century and a half after the Westminster time that a religious service was introduced under the form of asking a blessing on

the too liberal entertainment provided for the guests. In time, this made an end of the excesses which had made Scottish funerals a byword, though it was, at least, as much at variance with the Directory as service at the grave or in the church could be.

It was at one time intended to specify the superstitious usages of both kingdoms; but they were found to be too numerous, and were therefore excluded in general terms. In Scotland efforts were long made, but in vain, to suppress lykwakes, or watchings by the dead, with their discreditable accompaniments. The customs observed in 1712 at the burial of unchristened children are enumerated in the fourth part of Anderson's 'Dialogue.' Few were called to follow the corpse. There was no tolling of the bell at the burial nor intimation of the death; and they were buried near the wall of the church or the churchyard, that none might pass over their graves. Recently it was the rule to bury suicides and the unbaptized on the north side of the church. Even to this day in many rural churchyards which have not become crowded with the dead, the northern part lies unused, from an unconscious adherence to the medieval superstition which left that side of the church to the powers of evil.

Concerning Public Solemn Fasting.

This section was given in on the 13th of December, and is described by Lightfoot as "exceeding long and full on controvertible matters." They considered the length of time during which abstinence was to last — a natural day, as the Record, or a day of twenty-four hours, as Lightfoot calls it. There was a debate about fasting and eating, in reference, probably, to the first parenthesis of the second paragraph, and another on the liberty of families to meet together in private to fast. Several things are to be noted in this section. Among the occasions which call for the appointment of fasting-days, the Communion is not mentioned. Special Scriptures were to be chosen, and not those which fell to be read in ordinary course. This was in accordance with Scottish practice as set forth in the Common Order, Henderson's Tract, and Rutherford's Plea. The singing of penitential psalms and the public prayers have a more prominent place than in an ordinary service. Wodrow, in his Correspondence, speaks of customs among the Irish Presbyterians, which were evidently in more strict accordance with the Directory than what he was accustomed to see in Scotland, "their altering our ordinary practice on fast-days and haranguing instead of preaching upon a portion of

Scripture, and spending the rest of time in prayer." There is perhaps some connection between this appointment of the Directory and the custom by which, on the morning of a sacramental fast-day, the minister of the parish used to offer a long prayer without preaching, leaving the sermon to another. Another feature, characteristic of the age of the Covenant, is the solemn engagement to be the Lord's, entered into by the minister for himself and his people. There was a debate concerning the authority by which fasts ought to be appointed. This controversy was renewed in Scotland in the next century. Wodrow, speaking of it, says that he finds the right of the civil magistrate to fix them questioned by no authority except Rutherford and James Guthrie. We have no expression of Rutherford's views on the subject among the recorded proceedings of the Assembly.

Concerning the Observation of Days of Public Thanksgiving.

This section was passed sooner than the others forming this part of the Directory. It was brought in in August, when it was proposed to lay it aside, that Marriage, Burial, and the Churching of Women might be considered. But as it had been intro-

duced, it was finished. It at first began, "Convenient warning is to be given of the day to be set apart," but this was altered, on Lightfoot's motion, for the not very obvious reason that it seemed to give to the congregation the right of setting such days apart. The question whether public thanksgiving should last a whole day was debated on the interposition of Rutherford. Some opposed the mention of private preparation, as going beyond the limits of a Directory for public worship. Others objected that the order of service was too strictly imposed. And there was a debate about the magistrate's giving due information of the *occasion*, which was not inserted.

Of Singing of Psalms.

At Mr Henderson's request, a committee was nominated on the 2nd of October to confer with the Scots commissioners and Mr Rous, probably on this subject. Those chosen were Messrs Taylor, Tuckney, Wilson, Coleman, Herle, Reynolds, Lightfoot, and Guibon. But nothing seems to have been done up to the time when the earlier part of the Directory was receiving its final revision before being submitted to Parliament. Lightfoot then says that the singing of psalms had been left out

of the title, but after repeated motions he had it inserted. There must have been those who would have preferred to see this left an open question. There were some to whom "the singing of psalms in metre, not being formal Scripture, but a paraphrase, is unlawful." In the Assembly "Mr Nye did speak much against a tie to any Psalter, and something against the singing of paraphrases" (Baillie, ii. 121). And a more extreme section, in their abhorrence of set forms, had singing prophets, "making one man alone to sing, in the midst of the silent congregation, the hymns which he out of his own gift had composed" (Dissuasive, pp. 29, 81; Gangræna, i. 27, ii. 11). But apart from such fantastic opinions, the prevalent feeling of the time was that singing was what our First Book of Discipline had called it—"a profitable, but not necessary act of worship." When the section was at last brought in, the only opposition recorded came from Henderson, who objected to the reading of psalms line by line, but the provision remained notwithstanding. At a grand banquet given by the Mayor and Sheriffs to the Parliament and Assembly, the Prolocutor himself read the line at the closing psalm (Baillie, ii. 134). The Scots disliked this custom, as the French Reformed also did, who in their tenth Synod enacted that "churches that in singing psalms do first cause each verse to

be read, shall be advised to forbear that childish custom, and such as have used themselves unto it shall be censured." After Westminster, the alternate reading and singing here enjoined were adopted in Scotland. In time this artificial form of praise became so dear to the people that they forgot how modern and provisional it was. The Assembly of 1746 recommended that it should be discontinued in private worship. Much angry feeling was excited when the natural system of continuous singing in the congregation was restored, and it was one of the contributory sources of Scottish dissent. It may have been to dispense with it that Matthew Henry always began morning service with the 100th Psalm, and closed with the 117th, ending the afternoon service with either the 134th or 136th.

The intention of the Assembly was that a new version should supersede that of Sternhold and Hopkins in both kingdoms. It was already understood that the one to be adopted was that of Francis Rous, a member of Parliament and of the Assembly. It had been by order of the Commons published for general use months before the divines were called together. After they had begun their work, a further order was issued "that the Assembly of Divines be desired to give their advice whether it may not be useful and profitable to the Church

that the psalms set forth by Mr Rous be permitted to be publicly sung, the same being read before singing, until the books be more generally dispersed." The Assembly on their side were acquiescent, though many of them saw that it was recommended quite as much to further the material interests of a partisan as on account of its merits. Baillie says, "His friends are very pressing in the Assembly that his book may be examined and helped by the author, in what places it shall be found meet; and then be commended to the Parliament, that they may enjoin the public use of it. One of their considerations is the great private advantage which would by this book come to their friend: but many do oppose the motion, the most because the book is not so well done as they think it might. . . . I wish I had Rowallen's Psalter here, for I like it much better than any I have yet seen." Soon after this, Rous's position was made more independent when Parliament chose him at the mature age of sixty-five to be head of Eton, with the rich endowments attached. His version was found to require much alteration, at which many hands were employed, aided by suggestions from Scotland. He had a rival in Mr William Barton, whose version was favoured by the Peers. Rous's, however, held the field, and in February 1647 was recommended to the Commission of the General Assembly by

their countrymen in London, who say, "as it hath come through the hands of more examiners, so it will be found as near the original as any Paraphrase in metre can readily be, and much nearer than other works of that kind, which is a good compensation to make up the want of that poetical liberty and sweet pleasant running which some desire." For nearly three years it underwent the same process of modification in Scotland to which it had been subjected in England, and it was not till May 1650 that it came into authorised use. Baillie had some fears as to the reception it might meet with, since Rous had, after the King's death, openly joined the Independent party, and that so heartily that he was in later years made Speaker of Barebones's Parliament, and afterwards a Cromwellian peer. But by this time there was little in his name to provoke opposition, so largely had the traces of his hand on the work been effaced. The following is his own version of the first psalm, as he gave it to the world in 1643 (Baillie's Letters, iii. 533):—

"The man is blessed, that to walk
In wicked ways doth fear;
And stands not in the sinner's path,
Nor sits in scorner's chair.
But in the perfect law of God
He greatly doth delight,
And on that law doth meditate
With pleasure, day and night.

He shall be like a tree by streams
Of waters planted near,
Which in his season doth not fail
His pleasant fruit to bear.
Whose leaf shall never fade nor fall,
But flourish still and stand :
Even so all things shall prosper well
That this man takes in hand.
So shall not the ungodly men,
They shall be nothing so ;
But as the dust, which from the earth
The wind drives to and fro.
Therefore shall not the wicked men
In judgment stand approved ;
But sinners from the just shall be
Divided and removed.
Because the way of righteous men
God doth with favour know,
Whereas the way of wicked men
Ends in their overthrow."

The General Assembly directed the other scriptural songs to be paraphrased in the same way, and were taking steps to carry out their intention at the same time that Rous's version was undergoing its final revision, but all was stopped by Cromwell's invasion and his suppression of the Assembly. The purpose was not lost sight of after the Revolution, but it was not carried out till the publication of the paraphrases of 1745, and afterwards, in 1782, of the revised version of these, which is still in use.

The Directory does not prescribe the number of

metrical psalms to be sung; but we may suppose that the two which are spoken of so incidentally under the directions for ordinary service fix the minimum, not the maximum of praise.

An Appendix touching Days and Places for Public Worship.

Apparently we owe this appendix to the accidental circumstance that on a certain day in November, the Assembly, through a derangement of their plans, found themselves without work to do. First they ordered "that in the directory for the Sabbath-day something be expressed against wakes and feasts, commonly called by the name of rush-bearing, as profane and superstitious, whitsunales and garlands." Then they spoke of declaring against holy days as such, and yet keeping up some days for relief of servants. Having thus opened up the whole subject, they agreed to "consider of something concerning holy days and holy places," and the result was that this appendix was brought up on the 10th of December. There was some debate about the mention of the Sabbath in it. The views of the divines on holy days had somewhat changed during the year. On the 22nd of December 1643 they had adjourned till the 28th, refusing to give any opinion on the propriety of

having services on Christmas Day. The London ministers, however, with few exceptions did have it, resolving to cry down the superstition of the day. But this year the Assembly applied to Parliament for an order for the observance of the next *fast* day, "because the people will be ready to neglect it, being Christmas Day." This was a matter on which the Scots held decided opinions. Their historical position in reference to it is stated in the Act of Assembly 1638, session 17. The Assembly of 1645 so far confirmed the Directory Appendix by an Act of great stringency against the observance of Yule Day. Between the Restoration and the Revolution the holy days were little regarded. No act of Queen Anne's government was more unpopular than the repeal of a law which forbade a *Yule vacance* or Christmas recess in the Court of Session.

The last paragraph originally stood thus: "All holiness of place ceasing under the Gospel, no one place is now holier than another." There were some objections, and considerable debate; Gillespie and Rutherford seemed to support the passage as it stood, against the opinion thus expressed by Mr Herle that "it was not absolutely true that there is no holiness now in places; for that our churches are holy occasionally or relatively." In the end the passage was altered into its present form. The extreme opinion referred to in the end of the

section that a church once polluted by superstition is unfitted for God's worship, was not uncommon at that period. Hooker had thought it necessary to argue against it at some length. It is to be observed that out of deference to the Independents, the word *church* is neither here nor in any part of the Directory applied to the house of God.

APPENDIX A.

An ORDINANCE OF THE LORDS AND COMMONS *assembled in Parliament, for the calling of an Assembly of learned and godly Divines, and others, to be consulted with by the Parliament, for the settling of the Government and Liturgy of the Church of England, and for vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the said Church from false aspersions and interpretations* (Passed June 12, 1643).

WHEREAS, amongst the infinite blessings of Almighty God upon this nation, none is or can be more dear unto us than the purity of our religion; and for that, as yet, many things remain in the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church, which do necessarily require a further and more perfect reformation than as yet hath been attained; and whereas it hath been declared and resolved by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, that the present Church-government by archbishops,

bishops, their chancellors, commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers depending upon the hierarchy, is evil, and justly offensive and burdensome to the kingdom, a great impediment to reformation and growth of religion, and very prejudicial to the state and government of this kingdom; and that therefore they are resolved that the same shall be taken away, and that such a government shall be settled in the Church as may be most agreeable to God's holy word, and most apt to procure and preserve the peace of the Church at home, and nearer agreement with the Church of Scotland, and other Reformed Churches abroad; and, for the better effecting hereof, and for the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the Church of England from all false calumnies and aspersions, it is thought fit and necessary to call an Assembly of learned, godly, and judicious Divines, who, together with some members of both the Houses of Parliament, are to consult and advise of such matters and things, touching the premises, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the Houses of Parliament, and to give their advice and counsel therein to both or either of the said Houses, when, and as often as they shall be thereunto required: Be it therefore ordained, by the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, That all and every the persons hereafter in this present Ordinance named,

that is to say,—[*Here are inserted the names of the members.*] And such other person and persons as shall be nominated and appointed by both Houses of Parliament, or so many of them as shall not be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, shall meet and assemble, and are hereby required and enjoined, upon summons signed by the clerks of both Houses of Parliament, left at their several respective dwellings, to meet and assemble themselves at Westminster, in the Chapel called King Henry the VII.'s Chapel, on the first day of July, in the year of our Lord One thousand six hundred and forty-three; and after the first meeting, being at least of the number of forty, shall from time to time sit, and be removed from place to place; and also that the said Assembly shall be dissolved in such manner as by both Houses of Parliament shall be directed: and the said persons, or so many of them as shall be so assembled or sit, shall have power and authority, and are hereby likewise enjoined, from time to time during this present Parliament, or until further order be taken by both the said Houses, to confer and treat among themselves of such matters and things, touching and concerning the Liturgy, Discipline, and Government of the Church of England, or the vindicating and clearing of the doctrine of the same from all false aspersions and misconstructions, as shall be proposed unto them by both or either of the said Houses of

Parliament, and no other; and to deliver their opinions and advices of, or touching the matters aforesaid, as shall be most agreeable to the word of God, to both or either of the said Houses, from time to time, in such manner and sort as by both or either of the said Houses of Parliament shall be required; and the same not to divulge, by printing, writing, or otherwise, without the consent of both or either House of Parliament. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That William Twisse, Doctor in Divinity, shall sit in the chair, as Prolocutor of the said Assembly; and if he happen to die, or be letted by sickness, or other necessary impediment, then such other person to be appointed in his place as shall be agreed on by both the said Houses of Parliament: And in case any difference of opinion shall happen amongst the said persons so assembled, touching any the matters that shall be proposed to them as aforesaid, that then they shall represent the same, together with the reasons thereof, to both or either the said Houses respectively, to the end such further direction may be given therein as shall be requisite in that behalf. And be it further ordained by the authority aforesaid, That, for the charges and expenses of the said Divines, and every of them, in attending the said service, there shall be allowed unto every of them that shall so attend, during the time of their said attendance, and for ten days

before and ten days after, the sum of four shillings for every day, at the charges of the Commonwealth, at such time, and in such manner as by both Houses of Parliament shall be appointed. And be it further ordained, That all and every the said Divines, so, as aforesaid, required and enjoined to meet and assemble, shall be freed and acquitted of and from every offence, forfeiture, penalty, loss, or damage, which shall or may arise or grow by reason of any non-residence or absence of them, or any of them, from his or their, or any of their church, churches, or cures, for or in respect of their said attendance upon the said service; any law or statute of non-residence, or other law or statute enjoining their attendance upon their respective ministries or charges, to the contrary thereof notwithstanding. And if any of the persons before named shall happen to die before the said Assembly shall be dissolved by order of both Houses of Parliament, then such other person or persons shall be nominated and placed in the room and stead of such person or persons so dying, as by both the said Houses shall be thought fit and agreed upon; and every such person or persons, so to be named, shall have the like power and authority, freedom and acquittal, to all intents and purposes, and also all such wages and allowances for the said service, during the time of his or their attendance, as to any other of the said persons in

this Ordinance is by this Ordinance limited and appointed. Provided always, That this Ordinance, or any thing therein contained, shall not give unto the persons aforesaid, or any of them, nor shall they in this Assembly assume to exercise any jurisdiction, power, or authority ecclesiastical whatsoever, or any other power than is herein particularly expressed.

APPENDIX B.

Assembly at Edinburgh.

February 3, 1645. Sess. 10.

Act *of the* General Assembly *of the* Kirk *of* Scotland, *for the establishing and putting in Execution of the* Directory *for the Public Worship of God.*

WHEREAS an happy unity and uniformity in religion amongst the Kirks of Christ in these three Kingdoms, united under one Sovereign, hath been long and earnestly wished for by the godly and well-affected amongst us, was propounded as a main article of the large Treaty, without which band and bulwark no safe, well-grounded, and lasting peace could be expected; and afterward, with greater strength and maturity, revived in the Solemn League and Covenant of the three Kingdoms, whereby they stand straitly obliged to endeavour the nearest uniformity in one form of Church government, Directory of Worship, Confession of

Faith, and Form of Catechising; which hath also before, and since our entering into that Covenant, been the matter of many supplications and remonstrances, and sending Commissioners to the King's Majesty, of declarations to the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of England, and of letters to the Reverend Assembly of Divines, and others of the ministry of the Kirk of England; being also the end of our sending Commissioners, as was desired, from this Kirk, with commission to treat of uniformity in the four particulars afore-mentioned, with such Committees as should be appointed by both Houses of Parliament of England, and by the Assembly of Divines sitting at Westminster; and beside all this, it being, in point of conscience, the chief motive and end of our adventuring upon manifold and great hazards, for quenching the devouring flame of the present unnatural and bloody war in England, though to the weakening of this Kingdom within itself, and the advantage of the enemy which hath invaded it; accounting nothing too dear to us, so that this our joy be fulfilled. And now this great work being so far advanced, that a Directory for the Public Worship of God in all the three Kingdoms being agreed upon by the Honourable Houses of the Parliament of England, after consultation with the Divines of both kingdoms there assembled, and sent to us for our approbation, that, being also agreed upon

by this Kirk and Kingdom of Scotland, it may be in the name of both Kingdoms presented to the King, for his Royal consent and ratification; the General Assembly, having most seriously considered, revised, and examined the Directory aforementioned, after several public readings of it, after much deliberation both publicly and in private committees, after full liberty given to all to object against it, and earnest invitations of all who have any scruples about it, to make known the same, that they might be satisfied; Doth unanimously, and without a contrary voice, agree to and approve the following Directory, in all the heads thereof, together with the Preface set before it; and doth require, decern, and ordain, That, according to the plain tenor and meaning thereof, and the intent of the Preface, it be carefully and uniformly observed and practised by all the ministers and others within this Kingdom whom it doth concern; which practice shall be begun, upon intimation given to the several Presbyteries from the Commissioners of this General Assembly, who shall also take special care for timeous printing of this Directory, that a printed copy of it be provided and kept for the use of every kirk in this Kingdom; also that each Presbytery have a printed copy thereof for their use, and take special notice of the observation or neglect thereof in every congregation within their bounds, and make known

the same to the Provincial or General Assembly, as there shall be cause. Provided always, That the clause in the Directory of the Administration of the Lord's Supper, which mentioneth the Communicants sitting about the Table, or at it, be not interpreted as if, in the judgment of this Kirk, it were indifferent, and free for any of the Communicants not to come to, and receive at the Table; or as if we did approve the distributing of the Elements by the Minister to each Communicant, and not by the Communicants among themselves. It is also provided, That this shall be no prejudice to the order and practice of this Kirk, in such particulars as are appointed by the Books of Discipline and Acts of General Assemblies, and are not otherwise ordered and appointed in the Directory.

Finally, the Assembly doth, with much joy and thankfulness, acknowledge the rich blessing and invaluable mercy of God, in bringing the so much wished for uniformity in religion to such a happy period, that these Kingdoms, once at so great a distance in the Form of Worship, are now, by the blessing of God, brought to a nearer uniformity than any other Reformed Kirks; which is unto us the return of our prayers, and a lightening of our eyes, and reviving of our hearts, in the midst of our many sorrows and sufferings; a taking away, in a great measure, the reproach of the people of God,

to the stopping of the mouths of malignant and disaffected persons; and an opening unto us a door of hope, that God hath yet thoughts of peace towards us, and not of evil, to give us an expected end; in the expectation and confidence whereof we do rejoice; beseeching the Lord to preserve these Kingdoms from heresies, schisms, offences, profaneness, and whatsoever is contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness; and to continue with us, and the generations following, these His pure and purged Ordinances, together with an increase of the power and life thereof, to the glory of His great Name, the enlargement of the kingdom of His Son, the corroboration of peace and love between the Kingdoms, the unity and comfort of all His people, and our edifying one another in love.

Sess. 14. *February* 7, 1645.

The opinion of the Committee for keeping the greater uniformity in this Kirk, in the practice and observations of the Directory in some points of public worship.

I. IT is the humble opinion of the Committee for regulating that exercise of reading and expounding the Scriptures read upon the Lord's Day,

mentioned in the Directory, that the Minister and people repair to the kirk half an hour before that time at which ordinarily the Minister now entereth to the public worship; and that that exercise of reading and expounding, together with the ordinary exercise of preaching, be perfected and ended at the time which formerly closed the exercise of public worship.

II. In the administration of Baptism, it will be convenient that that Sacrament be administered in face of the Congregation, that what is spoken and done may be heard and seen of all, and that it be administered after the sermon, before the blessing.

III. In the administration of the Lord's Supper, it is the judgment of the Committee:—

1. That congregations be still tried and examined before the Communion, according to the bygone practice of this Kirk.

2. That there be no reading in the time of communicating, but the Minister making a short exhortation at every table; that thereafter there be silence during the time of the communicants' receiving, except only when the Minister expresses some few short sentences, suitable to the present condition of the communicants in the receiving, that they may be incited and quickened in their meditations in the action.

3. That distribution of the elements among the communicants be universally used; and for that

effect, that the bread be so prepared that the communicants may divide it among themselves, after the Minister hath broken and delivered it to the nearest.

4. That while the tables are dissolving and filling, there be always singing of some portion of a Psalm, according to the custom.

5. That the communicants, both before their going to and after their coming from the table, shall only join themselves to the present public exercise then in hand.

6. That when the Communion is to be celebrate in a parish, one Minister may be employed for assisting the Minister of the parish, or at the most two.

7. That there be a sermon of preparation delivered in the ordinary place of public worship upon the day immediately preceding.

8. That before the serving of the tables there be only one sermon delivered to those who are to communicate, and that in the kirk where the service is to be performed. And that in the same kirk there be one sermon of thanksgiving after the Communion is ended.

9. When the parishioners are so numerous that their parish kirk cannot contain them, so that there is a necessity to keep out such of the parish as cannot conveniently have place, that in that case the brother who assists the Minister of the parish

may be ready, if need be, to give a word of exhortation in some convenient place appointed for that purpose, to those of the parish who that day are not to communicate; which must not be begun until the sermon delivered in the kirk be concluded.

10. That of those who are present in the kirk when the Communion is celebrate none be permitted to go forth whill [until] the whole tables be served and the blessing pronounced, unless it be for more commodious order, and in other cases of necessity.

11. That the Minister who cometh to assist have a special care to provide his own parish, lest, otherwise, while he is about to minister comfort to others, his own flock be left destitute of preaching.

12. That none coming from another parish shall be admitted to the Communion without a testimonial from their own Minister: and no minister shall refuse a testimonial to any of his parish who communicates ordinarily at their own parish kirk, and are without scandal in their life for the time. And this is no ways to prejudge any honest person who occasionally is in the place where the Communion is celebrate; or such as by death or absence of their own Minister, could not have a testimonial.

IV. It is also the judgment of the Committee, that the Ministers' bowing in the pulpit, though a

lawful custom in this Kirk, be hereafter laid aside, for satisfaction of the desires of the reverend Divines in the Synod of England, and for uniformity with that Kirk, so much endeared to us.

The Assembly, having considered seriously the judgment of the Committee above written, doth approve the same in all the articles thereof, and ordains them to be observed in all time hereafter.

APPENDIX C.

CHARLES I. Parl. 3. Session 5.

Act of the PARLIAMENT *of the* KINGDOM *of* SCOTLAND, *Approving and Establishing the* DIRECTORY *for Public Worship.*

At EDINBURGH, *February* 6, 1645.

THE Estates of Parliament now convened in the second Session of this first Triennial Parliament, by virtue of the last Act of the last Parliament holden by his Majesty and the three Estates in Anno 1641: After Public Reading and serious Consideration of the Act underwritten of the General Assembly, approving the following Directory for the public Worship of God in the Three Kingdoms, lately united by the *Solemn League and Covenant*, together with the Ordinance of the Parliament of England establishing the said Directory, and the Directory itself; do heartily and chearfully agree to the said Directory, according to the Act of the

General Assembly approving the same. Which Act together with the Directory itself, the Estates of Parliament do without a contrary Voice, ratify and approve in all the Heads and Articles thereof: and do interpone and add the Authority of Parliament to the said Act of the General Assembly. And do ordain the same to have the Strength and Force of a Law and Act of Parliament, and execution to pass thereupon, for observing the said Directory according to the said Act of the General Assembly in all Points.

ALEX. GIBSON, *Cler. Registri.*

APPENDIX D.

A Supply of Prayer for the Ships of this Kingdom that want Ministers to pray with them: Agreeable to the Directory Established by Parliament. Published by Authority. London: Printed for John Field, and are to be sold at his house upon Addle-hill.

A Reason of this Work.

WHEREAS there are thousands of ships belonging to this Kingdom which have not ministers with them to guide them in prayer, and therefore use the old form of Common Prayer, or no Prayer at all; the former whereof for many weighty reasons hath been abolished, and the latter is likely to make them rather Heathens than Christians, (the Lord's Day being left without any mark of Piety or Devotion). Therefore to avoid these inconveniences, it hath been thought fit to frame some prayers, agreeing with the Directory established

by Parliament; it being hoped that it will be no grief of heart to wise and full Christians, if the thirsty drink out of cisterns, who themselves drink out of fountains: but they will rather pity the wants of their needy brethren, and out of compassion immitate him who filleth the hungry with good things.

These prayers being enlivened, and sent up by the Spirit in him that prayeth, may be lively prayers and acceptable to him who is a Spirit, and accepts of service in spirit and truth. And in truth, though prayers come never so new, even from the Spirit, in one that is a guide in prayer, if the Spirit do not quicken and enliven that prayer in the hearer that follows him, it is to him but a dead form, and a very carcase of prayer.

The Company being assembled, they may thus begin with prayer:—

O LORD, in all reverence and humility we acknowledge thy incomprehensible Greatness and Majesty, in whose presence we do now in a speciall manner appear, and our own vileness and unworthiness to approach so near thee; with our utter inability of ourselves to such a holy duty. And we humbly beseech thee for pardon, assistance, and acceptance, in the whole service now to be performed, and for a Blessing on the particular

portions of thy Word now to be read, and all in the Name and Mediation of the Lord Jesus Christ, in whose name and words we pray unto thee farther, saying,

Our Father, &c.

After this, some Psalms and Chapters being read out of both Testaments (but none out of those Books which are commonly called Apocrypha), *and a Psalm being sung, a Prayer may follow in this manner :—*

O GREAT and gracious Lord, we acknowledge before thee our sinfulness, first, by reason of Original sin, which (besides the guilt of it, which makes us liable to eternal damnation) is the seed of all other sins, and hath depraved and poisoned all the faculties and powers of soul and body, and doth defile our best actions, and (were it not restrained, or our hearts renewed by Grace) would break forth into innumerable Transgressions and the greatest Rebellions against the Lord that ever were committed by the vilest of the sons of men. And next we acknowledge the guilt of Actual sins, our own sins, the sins of Magistrates, of Ministers, and of the whole Nation, unto which we are many ways accessory ; which sins of ours receive many fearful aggravations, we having broken all the Commandments of the holy, just, and good Law of God, doing that which is forbidden, and leaving undone

what is enjoined; and that not only out of ignorance and infirmity, but also more presumptuously against the light of our minds, checks of our consciences, and motions of thy holy Spirit to the contrary, so that we have no cloak for our sins: yea we have not only despised the riches of God's goodness, forbearance, and long suffering, which should lead us to Repentance and Holiness: but have stood out against many invitations, and offers of Grace in the Gospel, not endeavouring as we ought, to receive Christ into our hearts by Faith, or to walk worthy of him in our lives. We bewail our blindness of mind, hardness of heart, unbelief, impenitency, security, lukewarmness, barrenness, our not endeavouring after Mortification and newness of life; nor after the exercise of Godliness in the power thereof; and that the best of us have not so steadfastly walked with God, kept our Garments so unspotted, nor been so zealous of thy glory, and the good of others as we ought, notwithstanding the manifold and great mercies of thee our God, the love of Christ, the light of the Gospel, and Reformation of Religion, our own Purposes, Promises, Vows, Solemn Covenants, and other special obligations to the contrary. We acknowledge and confess, that as we are convinced of our guilt, so out of a deep sense thereof we judge ourselves unworthy of the smallest benefits, most worthy of thy fiercest wrath, and of all the curses

of the Law and heaviest judgments inflicted upon the most Rebellious sinners; and that thou mightest most justly take thy Kingdom and Gospel from us, plague us with all sorts of Spiritual and Temporal judgments in this life, and after cast us into utter darkness, in the Lake that burneth with Fire and Brimstone, where is weeping and gnashing of Teeth for evermore. Notwithstanding all which, we draw near to the Throne of Grace, encouraging ourselves with hope of a gracious answer of our Prayers, in the Riches and All-sufficiency of that only one Oblation, the satisfaction and Intercession of the Lord Jesus Christ, at the right hand of his Father, and our Father, and in confidence of the exceeding great and precious promises of Mercy and Grace in the new Covenant, through the same Mediator thereof. And we pray Thee, for his sake to turn away Thy heavy wrath and curse from us, which we are not able to avoid or bear, and humbly and earnestly beseech thee out of thy free Grace and Mercy, to grant unto us the full Remission of all our sins, and that only for the bitter sufferings and precious merits of that our only Saviour Jesus Christ. O that the Lord would vouchsafe to shed abroad his love in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, to seal unto us by the same Spirit of Adoption the full assurance of our Pardon and Reconciliation, that he would comfort all that mourn in Zion, speak peace to the

wounded and troubled spirits, and bind up the broken-hearted; And as for secure and presumptuous sinners, Lord open their eyes, convince their consciences, and turn them from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God, that they also may receive forgiveness of sin, and an inheritance among them that are sanctified by Faith in Christ Jesus. With remission of sins through the blood of Christ, we pray thee also to give us Sanctification by his Spirit; Mortification of sin dwelling in us, and many times tyrannizing over us; the quickening of our dead Spirits with the life of God in Christ; Grace to fit and enable us for all duties of conversation, and callings towards God and Man; strength against Temptations, the sanctified use of Blessings and Crosses, and perseverance in Faith and Obedience to our lives' end, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

A Prayer for the Church Universal, and our United Churches and Kingdoms.

O LORD, who dost gather to thy self a Church out of all Nations, we beseech thee, to this end to Propagate thy Gospel and the Kingdom of Christ Jesus to all Nations, convert the Jews, fill up the fulness of the Gentiles, hasten the fall of Antichrist, and the second coming of our Lord;

grant deliverance to the distressed Churches abroad from the Tyranny of the Antichristian Faction, and from the cruel oppressions and blasphemies of the Turk: We pray thee, send thy Blessing upon all the Reformed Churches, especially upon the Churches and Kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, now more strictly and Religiously united in the Solemn League and Covenant: we pray thee for our Plantations in the remote parts of the world, more particularly for that Church and Kingdom whereof we are Members, that therein God would establish Peace and Truth, the Purity of all his Ordinances, and the power of godliness; prevent and remove Heresy, Schism, Profaneness, Superstition, security, and unfruitfulness under the means of Grace; heal our rents and divisions, and preserve us from breach of our Solemn Covenant. We pray thee for all in Authority, especially for the King's Majesty, that God would make him rich in Blessings, both in his Person and Government; establish his Throne in Religion and Righteousness, save him from evil Counsel, and make him a blessed and glorious instrument for the conservation and propagation of the Gospel, for the incouragement and protection of them that do well, the terror of all that do evil, and the great good of the Church of Christ, and of these United Kingdoms. We pray thee, convert the Queen, give a Religious Education to the Prince and the rest of the Royal

Seed; comfort the afflicted Queen of Bohemia, Sister to our Sovereign: we pray thee for the Restitution and Establishment of the illustrious Prince the Elector Palatine of the Rhene, to all his Dominions and Dignities: Bless the High Court of Parliament, the Nobility, the subordinate Judges and Magistrates, the Gentry, and all the Commonalty; bless all Pastors and Teachers, O Lord, fill them with thy Spirit, and make them exemplarily holy, sober, just, peaceable, and gracious in their lives; sound, faithful, and powerful in their Ministry, and follow all their labours with abundance of success and blessing; And give unto all thy People, Pastors according to thy own heart; Bless the Universities and all Schools, and Religious Seminaries of Church and Commonwealth, that they may flourish more and more in Learning and Piety. Pour out a blessing upon the Ministry of the Word, Sacraments, and Discipline; give thy mercy and consolation to the afflicted under any inward or outward distress; Lord, give unto us seasonable Weather and Fruitful Seasons: Lord, turn away thy judgments that we feel, or fear, or are liable unto, whether Famine, Pestilence, Sword, or any other. With all outward means of salvation, be graciously pleased to pour out the spirit of Grace into our hearts, causing us to attain such a measure of the Excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus our Lord, and in him of the things

which belong to our Peace, that we may account all things but as dung in comparison of him, and that we, tasting the first fruits of the glory that is to be revealed, may long for a more full and perfect Communion with him, that where he is we may be also, and enjoy the fulness of those joys and pleasures which are at thy Right hand for evermore; and all this through the same Christ Jesus, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

After this Prayer, a Psalm may be sung, and the Conclusion may be with a Thanksgiving and Blessing.

The Thanksgiving.

WE give thee thanks, most gracious Father, the Fountain of every good and perfect gift, for all thy blessings, both Spiritual and Temporal; especially for thy great love in sending thy Son Jesus Christ unto us; for the Communication of thy Holy Spirit, for the light and liberty of thy glorious Gospel and the rich heavenly blessings revealed therein, as namely, our Election, Vocation, Adoption, Sanctification, and hope of glory; for the admirable goodness of God in freeing the land from Antichristian darkness and Tyranny, and for all other National deliverances: we bless thee for the Reformation of our Religion, our continual

preservation, and for many other Temporal blessings. We pray thee for the continuance of all thy favours and blessings, and particularly of thy Gospel and all the Ordinances thereof, in their purity, power, and liberty: we pray thee make thy word powerful that it may abide in our hearts, and bring forth fruit in our lives and conversation. We beseech thee, fit and prepare us for death and judgment, and that we may watch for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: We entreat thee, forgive the iniquity of our holy things, and accept of our Spiritual sacrifices, through the merit and mediation of our great High Priest and Saviour, the Lord Christ Jesus. *Amen.*

Prayer for a Blessing.

The Lord bless us, and keep us; the Lord make his face to shine upon us, and be gracious unto us; the Lord lift up his countenance upon us, and give us his Peace; and the very God of Peace sanctify us wholly, that our whole spirit, soul, and body may be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ: and the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God the Father, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with us all. *Amen.*

A Prayer particularly fitted for those that travel upon the Seas.

O LORD, who art the hope of the ends of the Earth, and of those that are upon the wide Sea, by whose Providence men go down to the Sea in Ships, and follow business in great Waters, we pray thee to take both Ship and persons under thy protection and preservation, and let a blessing come from thee upon our businesses and endeavours. And, Lord, though we by our sins have deserved rather curses than blessings, yet we pray thee to deal with us, not according to our sins and our own deservings, but according to thy infinite free mercy, and the merits of thy Son Christ Jesus, which are of an infinite value. Behold us in him, we beseech thee, in whom thou art well pleased, and in Him be well pleased with us. And, Lord, we pray that he may be unto us not only justification from the guilt of sin, but sanctification to deliver us from the power and service of sin, that we may be partakers of His holiness, without which no man shall see thee. And, Lord, while we are upon the seas, cause us to take notice of thy great works, for thou hast made the Sea, and therein creatures innumerable, both small and great: And while we behold things created by thee, let our hearts be lifted up to thee, who

hast created them, to worship thee, to love thee, and to serve thee; by whom, and for whom all things were created. Keep us, Lord, from storms and tempest, and if they shall arise, let thy word come forth, and turn the storm into a calm, make the Waters still, and bring us in good season to the Haven of our desires. In the mean time preserve us also from Sea-thieves, Enemies, and other dangers to which our Voyages are subject: And, Lord, when thou shalt preserve us, and bring us home in safety, give us grace to be truly and really thankful to thee, and to express our Thankfulness in a holy life and conversation; that we may serve and please Thee, who preservest us. And let not thy often preservations of us make us the less sensible of them, but rather the more thankful to thee for them: For, Lord, we confess, such is the corruption of our nature, that when we often pass through dangers, and escape them, we take less notice of thy gracious providence and preservation in them; whereas we should be the more thankful to thee, the more thou multipliest thy favours upon us. But, Lord, yet very far be it from us, upon our returns, to return to folly and sin, and that we, whom thou preservest, should offend thee by sinful courses, instead of serving thee, and being thankful to thee; For, then mayest thou justly come upon us by thy judgments, in an hour which we think not on, and let

in the Seas and other dangers upon us, to swallow us up, and devour us, and after give us our portion in a Lake of Fire that burneth for evermore; But, Lord, we pray thee to guide us ever by thy grace, and not to leave us to our selves and our own corruptions, but through all the passages of this our pilgrimage, both upon Sea and Land, lead us by thy good Spirit, and bring us at last to the true Haven of Blessedness and place of rest, which is above in thy presence, where is fulness of joy, and where are pleasures for evermore. Hear us, O Lord, and accept our persons and prayers, through thy beloved Son Christ Jesus, who sitting at thy Right hand, makes intercession for us; to whom with the Almighty Father, and the most blessed and Holy Spirit, be all honour, service, and praise, from this time forth for evermore. *Amen.*

A Prayer in a Storm.

O LORD, we acknowledge, that by thy own Providence and will, this storm is now come upon us; for thy Word hath taught us, that thou commandest and raisest the stormy Winds which lift up the waves of the Sea, so that they mount up to the Heaven, and go down again to the Depths, and the souls of men are melted because of trouble, and they are at their wits' ends. And,

Lord, we confess that we have sins enough to draw down all thy storms upon us, and to overwhelm us with all thy waves: But, Lord, we beseech thee to make our hearts to search themselves, as for all sins, so for those especially which may draw down this great Tempest upon us; and let us cast out these sins as the mariners cast out Jonah, and let the wind and sea cease from their raging. And, Lord, we pray thee that we may so cast them out, that we may never take them in again, lest greater storms overtake us: For we acknowledge that where sin is, there must storms be expected; Storms and Tempests, Fire and Brimstone are the portion of sinners; grant us also grace that we may not only hate our sins and cast them out, because they are followed with storms and Judgments, but because they are odious in themselves, being contrary to thy Righteous Law, and to thee who art the Fountain and Rule of Righteousness. And, Lord, let us also take thy Son Christ Jesus into our souls to sanctify them, and Reign in them, remembering also that Christ Jesus makes a Calm in the souls where he Reigns, for being justified by him, we have Peace with God; and he also, when he was here below, being in the Ship, made a calm there also, and commanded the winds to be still: Lord, we pray thee, grant at this time both these calms unto us; for as thy Word told us, that when thou commandest, a storm ariseth,

so it also sheweth us, that when men cry to thee in their trouble, thou bringest them out of their distress, thou makest the storm a calm, and the waves of the Sea are still; then are men glad because they be quiet, and thou bringest them to their desired Haven. Lord, we beseech thee, let it be now to thy servants according to this thy word, and then let that also be done which justly followeth: Let us Praise the Lord for his goodness, and his wonderful works to the sons of men; Let us Exalt thee in the Congregation of the People, and Praise thee in the Assembly of the Elders: And if the Heathen Mariners which carried Jonah, being delivered from the storm, did fear the Lord exceedingly, and offered Sacrifice to the Lord, and made Vows; Let us much more who have the light of the Gospel in so great a measure beyond them, fear thee greatly, and offer to thee the Sacrifices of Praise, and make Vows of better Obedience: And, Lord, having made such Vows, assist us by thy grace, that we may perform them; and cause us all our lives to carry with us, and in us, the same thoughts and resolutions of holiness and good Conversation, which we have when we are in a storm, and not obey thee worse after deliverances than we resolved to do in dangers. And, Lord, howsoever thou shalt please to dispose of us, we do here cast our selves down under thy Mighty hand; We submit our selves to thee, as

the clay to the Potter, to do with us what is good in thy sight; for thou hast promised that all shall turn to good to those whom thou hast chosen: And hast further shewed us, that neither life nor death can separate us from thy love that is in Christ Jesus: Let it be so unto thy servants, let thy love always be towards us in Christ Jesus the Son of thy love: Whatsoever judgments fall on our bodies, let our souls be saved by the Lord Jesus; Let us so be knit unto him by a lively Faith, that we may be partakers of him, and in him of life Eternal: And having a sure hope and confidence hereof, let us desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ, which is best of all; and at our dissolution, speak with assurance to be heard, Lord Jesus, Receive our Spirits: Hear us, O Lord, and grant us our Petitions, and whatsoever thy wisdom knows to be best for us, which is far beyond all that we can ask or think, and all for the sake of thy Son, and our blessed Saviour, through whom alone we and our Prayers have access unto thee; to whom with thy Glorious self, and most Holy Spirit, be all Honour and Glory, Praise and Thanksgiving, Service and Obedience from this time forth, and for evermore. *Amen.*

FINIS.

APPENDIX E.

Baillie's Paper to my Colleagues.

THE clause in the Directory of the Lord's Supper, discharging all private prayer before and after the participation, to me is very burdensome, wherefore I do humbly and earnestly entreat it may be omitted for these reasons :—

1. It puts an express negative precept, without any Scripture or reason, upon the ordinary practice of the most if not all pastors and people I am acquaint with.

2. These private worships which the nature of the action seems to require, and in the experience of many godly and understanding Christians have been felt oft very useful, are openly thus declared unlawful, sinful, and superstitious worships.

3. The ground of this discharge seems to be the general maxim that all private worship in the time and place of public worship is to be discharged. This directly does decide the contro-

versy of our Church in favours of that side who challenges the minister's and people's private prayers in their entry to the public, as unlawful worship.

4. It will be a ground of needless janglings and very troublesome and untimeous disputations.

5. It alters the wise course which in the rest of the Directory is taken with things of that nature. It does not pass by, and so leave free: it does not recommend as convenient, but formally discharges as unlawful these things in controversy which to the most part of our Church are taken for lawful and laudable customs. This will be a burden to the consciences of many, and a heavy yoke. The offering of it may add oil to the divisions already begun in our Church, and continue without any necessity our unhappy ceremonial quarrels.

Consider if we ought not to endeavour to bring them to us in praying for the Church and other public matters after sermon:

1. If their custom be not evidently better, they may with less prejudice alter their way, for we are settled, and without a necessity or evident convenience would not admit any sensible alteration in the public worship.

2. Their custom makes the public prayers very unequal, the last too short, the former wearisomely long.

3. The minister's mind being freed of the weighty burden of the sermon, is more free to

pray at large after than before, and the people being to end the action, are more patient of a long prayer than before sermon, when the most of the work is before them. Of this I have some experience.

4. The only reason I have heard to the contrary, that there ought to be one solemn prayer as a standing part of worship, &c., is but a new fancy of the Independents, grounded on no solid reason and contrare to all the practice of the Church, old or late, who divided always their prayers in more small parts, and did not have any one of a disproportional length.

5. If no more can be gotten, let the [language?] be more distinct and clear which leaves our Church the full liberty to keep her own custom, if so she think fit.

Concerning reading of Scripture, I wish Mr Marshall's ground were cleared of the lawfulness for any fit person to read and sing whom the Church shall appoint, whether he be an officer or not, less we draw our Church not only to a sensible alteration, but to the acknowledging of a very long and universal erroneous practice, we put down that exercise of public prayers in all our towns, we cast out all our readers as unlawful officers, we lay a very heavy burden on the most of our ministers; besides twice preaching, catechizing, baptizing, marrying, and holding a session, we

will have him to pray, sing, read, both before and after noon. Also if none but a pastor or doctor may pray or preach, or read in a congregation, our expectants may not speak to God for any people, nor to any people for God, they having no calling so to do, and not being in any true or proper sense officers in any congregation. It concerns us very much to consider this matter well.

APPENDIX F.

From the Westminster Form of Church Government.

Of Ordination of Ministers.

UNDER the head of Ordination of Ministers is to be considered, either the doctrine of ordination, or the power of it.

Touching the Doctrine of Ordination.

NO man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word without a lawful Calling.[1]

Ordination is always to be continued in the Church.[2]

Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public Church office.[3]

[1] John iii. 27; Rom. x. 14, 15; Jer. xiv. 14; Heb. v. 4.
[2] Tit. i. 5; 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.
[3] Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22; Acts vi. 3, 5, 6.

Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by those preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong.[1]

It is agreeable to the word of God, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge.[2]

He that is to be ordained minister must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle.[3]

He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained.[4]

No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation if they of that congregation can show just cause of exception against him.[5]

Touching the Power of Ordination.

ORDINATION is the act of a presbytery.[6]

The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether these congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard

[1] 1 Tim. v. 22; Acts xiv. 23; Acts xiii. 3.
[2] Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5; Acts xx. 17, 28.
[3] 1 Tim. iii. 2-6; Tit. i. 5-9.
[4] 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10; 1 Tim. v. 22.
[5] 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7.
[6] 1 Tim. iv. 14.

of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination.[1]

It is very requisite that no single congregation that can conveniently associate do assume to itself all and sole power in ordination:

1. Because there is no example in scripture that any single congregation which might conveniently associate did assume to itself all and sole power in ordination; neither is there any rule which may warrant such a practice.

2. Because there is in scripture example of an ordination in a presbytery over divers congregations; as in the church of Jerusalem, where were many congregations: these many congregations were under one presbytery, and this presbytery did ordain.

The preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.

Concerning the Doctrinal Part of Ordination of Ministers.

1. NO man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the word without a lawful calling.[2]

[1] 1 Tim. iv. 14.

[2] John iii. 27; Rom. x. 14, 15; Jer. xiv. 14; Heb. v. 4.

2. Ordination is always to be continued in the Church.[1]

3. Ordination is the solemn setting apart of a person to some public Church office.[2]

4. Every minister of the word is to be ordained by imposition of hands, and prayer, with fasting, by these preaching presbyters to whom it doth belong.[3]

5. The power of ordering the whole work of ordination is in the whole presbytery, which, when it is over more congregations than one, whether those congregations be fixed or not fixed, in regard of officers or members, it is indifferent as to the point of ordination.[4]

6. It is agreeable to the word, and very expedient, that such as are to be ordained ministers be designed to some particular church, or other ministerial charge.[5]

7. He that is to be ordained minister must be duly qualified, both for life and ministerial abilities, according to the rules of the apostle.[6]

8. He is to be examined and approved by those by whom he is to be ordained.[7]

[1] Tit. i. 5; 1 Tim. v. 21, 22.
[2] Numb. viii. 10, 11, 14, 19, 22; Acts vi. 3, 5, 6.
[3] 1 Tim. v. 22; Acts xiv. 23; Acts xiii. 3.
[4] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[5] Acts xiv. 23; Tit. i. 5; Acts xx. 17, 28.
[6] 1 Tim. iii. 2-6; Tit. i. 5-9
[7] 1 Tim. iii. 7, 10; 1 Tim. v. 22.

9. No man is to be ordained a minister for a particular congregation if they of that congregation can show just cause of exception against him.[1]

10. Preaching presbyters orderly associated, either in cities or neighbouring villages, are those to whom the imposition of hands doth appertain, for those congregations within their bounds respectively.[2]

11. In extraordinary cases, something extraordinary may be done, until a settled order may be had, yet keeping as near as possibly may be to the rule.[3]

12. There is at this time (as we humbly conceive) an extraordinary occasion for a way of ordination for the present supply of ministers.

The Directory for the Ordination of Ministers.

IT being manifest by the word of God that no man ought to take upon him the office of a minister of the gospel, until he be lawfully called and ordained thereunto; and that the work of ordination is to be performed with all due care, wisdom, gravity, and solemnity, we humbly tender these directions, as requisite to be observed.

1. He that is to be ordained, being either nomin-

[1] 1 Tim. iii. 2; Tit. i. 7.
[2] 1 Tim. iv. 14.
[3] 2 Chron. xxix. 34-36; 2 Chron. xxx. 2-5.

ated by the people, or otherwise commended to the presbytery, for any place, must address himself to the presbytery, and bring with him a testimonial of his taking the Covenant of the three kingdoms; of his diligence and proficiency in his studies; what degrees he hath taken in the university, and what hath been the time of his abode there; and withal of his age, which is to be twenty-four years; but especially of his life and conversation.

2. Which being considered by the presbytery, they are to proceed to enquire touching the grace of God in him, and whether he be of such holiness of life as is requisite in a minister of the gospel; and to examine him touching his learning and sufficiency, and touching the evidences of his calling to the holy ministry; and, in particular, his fair and direct calling to that place.

The Rules for Examination are these:

"(1) That the party examined be dealt withal in a brotherly way, with mildness of spirit, and with special respect to the gravity, modesty, and quality of every one.

"(2) He shall be examined touching his skill in the original tongues, and his trial to be made by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and rendering some portion of some into Latin; and if he be defective in them, enquiry shall be

made more strictly after his other learning, and whether he hath skill in logic and philosophy.

"(3) What authors in divinity he hath read, and is best acquainted with; and trial shall be made in his knowledge of the grounds of religion, and of his ability to defend the orthodox doctrine contained in them against all unsound and erroneous opinions, especially these of the present age; of his skill in the sense and meaning of such places of scripture as shall be proposed unto him, in cases of conscience, and in the chronology of the scripture, and the ecclesiastical history.

"(4) If he hath not before preached in public with approbation of such as are able to judge, he shall, at a competent time assigned him, expound before the presbytery such a place of scripture as shall be given him.

"(5) He shall also, within a competent time, frame a discourse in Latin upon such a common-place or controversy in divinity as shall be assigned to him, and exhibit to the presbytery such theses as express the sum thereof, and maintain a dispute upon them.

"(6) He shall preach before the people,—the presbytery, or some of the ministers of the word appointed by them, being present.

"(7) The proportion of his gifts in relation to the place unto which he is called shall be considered.

"(8) Beside the trial of his gifts in preaching, he shall undergo an examination in the premises two several days, and more, if the presbytery shall judge it necessary.

"(9) And as for him that hath formerly been ordained a minister, and is to be removed to another charge, he shall bring a testimonial of his ordination, and of his abilities and conversation, whereupon his fitness for that place shall be tried by his preaching there, and (if it shall be judged necessary) by a further examination of him."

3. In all which he being approved, he is to be sent to the church where he is to serve, there to preach three several days, and to converse with the people, that they may have trial of his gifts for their edification, and may have time and occasion to enquire into, and the better to know, his life and conversation.

4. In the last of these three days appointed for the trial of his gifts in preaching, there shall be sent from the presbytery to the congregation a public intimation in writing, which shall be publicly read before the people, and after affixed to the church-door, to signify that such a day a competent number of the members of that congregation, nominated by themselves, shall appear before the presbytery, to give their consent and approbation to such a man to be their minister; or otherwise, to put in, with all Christian discretion and meek-

ness, what exceptions they have against him. And if, upon the day appointed, there be no just exception against him, but the people give their consent, then the presbytery shall proceed to ordination.

5. Upon the day appointed for ordination, which is to be performed in that church where he that is to be ordained is to serve, a solemn fast shall be kept by the congregation, that they may the more earnestly join in prayer for a blessing upon the ordinances of Christ, and the labours of his servant for their good. The presbytery shall come to the place, or at least three or four ministers of the word shall be sent thither from the presbytery; of which one appointed by the presbytery shall preach to the people concerning the office and duty of ministers of Christ, and how the people ought to receive them for their work's sake.

6. After the sermon, the minister who hath preached shall, in the face of the congregation, demand of him who is now to be ordained, concerning his faith in Christ Jesus, and his persuasion of the truth of the reformed religion, according to the scriptures; his sincere intentions and ends in desiring to enter into this calling; his diligence in praying, reading, meditation, preaching, ministering the sacraments, discipline, and doing all ministerial duties towards his charge; his zeal and faithfulness in maintaining the truth of the gospel, and unity of the church, against error and

schism; his care that himself and his family may be unblameable, and examples to the flock; his willingness and humility, in meekness of spirit, to submit unto the admonitions of his brethren, and discipline of the church; and his resolution to continue in his duty against all trouble and persecution.

7. In all which having declared himself, professed his willingness, and promised his endeavours, by the help of God; the minister likewise shall demand of the people concerning their willingness to receive and acknowledge him as the minister of Christ; and to obey and submit unto him, as having rule over them in the Lord; and to maintain, encourage, and assist him in all the parts of his office.

8. Which being mutually promised by the people, the presbytery, or the ministers sent from them for ordination, shall solemnly set him apart to the office and work of the ministry, by laying their hands on him, which is to be accompanied with a short prayer or blessing, to this effect:

"Thankfully acknowledging the great mercy of God in sending Jesus Christ for the redemption of his people; and for his ascension to the right hand of God the Father, and thence pouring out his Spirit, and giving gifts to men, apostles, evangelists, prophets, pastors, and teachers; for the gathering and building up of his church; and for fitting and inclining this man to this great work:[1]

[1] Here let them impose hands on his head.

to entreat him to fit him with his Holy Spirit, to give him (who in his name we thus set apart to this holy service) to fulfil the work of his ministry in all things, that he may both save himself, and his people committed to his charge."

9. This or the like form of prayer and blessing being ended, let the minister who preached briefly exhort him to consider of the greatness of his office and work, the danger of negligence both to himself and his people, the blessing which will accompany his faithfulness in this life, and that to come; and withal exhort the people to carry themselves to him, as to their minister in the Lord, according to their solemn promise made before. And so by prayer commending both him and his flock to the grace of God, after singing of a psalm, let the assembly be dismissed with a blessing.

10. If a minister be designed to a congregation who hath been formerly ordained presbyter according to the form of ordination which hath been in the Church of England, which we hold for substance to be valid, and not to be disclaimed by any who have received it; then, there being a cautious proceeding in matters of examination, let him be admitted without any new ordination.

11. And in case any person already ordained minister in Scotland, or in any other reformed church, be designed to another congregation in England, he is to bring from that church to the

presbytery here, within which that congregation is, a sufficient testimonial of his ordination, of his life and conversation while he lived with them, and of the causes of his removal; and to undergo such a trial of his fitness and sufficiency, and to have the same course held with him in other particulars, as is set down in the rule immediately going before, touching examination and admission.

12. That records be carefully kept in the several presbyteries of the names of the persons ordained, with their testimonials, the time and place of their ordination, of the presbyters who did impose hands upon them, and of the charge to which they are appointed.

13. That no money or gift, of what kind soever, shall be received from the person to be ordained, or from any on his behalf, for ordination, or ought else belonging to it, by any of the presbytery, or any appertaining to any of them, upon what pretence soever.

Thus far of ordinary Rules, and course of Ordination, in the ordinary way; that which concerns the extraordinary way, requisite to be now practised, followeth.

1. In these present exigencies, while we cannot have any presbyteries formed up to their whole

power and work, and that many ministers are to be ordained for the service of the armies and navy, and to many congregations where there is no minister at all; and where (by reason of the public troubles) the people cannot either themselves enquire and find out one who may be a faithful minister for them, or have any with safety sent unto them, for such a solemn trial as was before mentioned in the ordinary rules; especially, when there can be no presbytery near unto them to whom they may address themselves, or which may come or send to them a fit man to be ordained in that congregation, and for that people: and yet notwithstanding, it is requisite that ministers be ordained for them by some, who, being set apart themselves for the work of the ministry, have power to join in the setting apart others, who are found fit and worthy. In those cases, until, by God's blessing, the aforesaid difficulties may be in some good measure removed, let some godly ministers, in or about the city of London, be designed by public authority, who, being associated, may ordain ministers for the city and the vicinity, keeping as near to the ordinary rules forementioned as possibly they may; and let this association be for no other intent or purpose, but only for the work of ordination.

2. Let the like association be made by the same authority in great towns, and the neighbour-

ing parishes in the several counties, which are at the present quiet and undisturbed, to do the like for the parts adjacent.

3. Let such as are chosen, or appointed for the service of the armies or navy, be ordained, as aforesaid, by the associated ministers of London, or some others in the country.

4. Let them do the like, when any man shall duly and lawfully be recommended to them for the ministry of any congregation, who cannot enjoy liberty to have a trial of his parts and abilities, and desire the help of such ministers so associated, for the better furnishing of them with such a person as by them shall be judged fit for the service of that church and people.

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